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PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY AND SOMATIC ORIGINS OF THE HOTTENTOTS

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SYNOPSIS

The history of studies on the physical anthropology of the Hottentots falls into three phases: (I) 1872-1923: recognition of the Hottentots as physically distinct (Fritsch to Broom); (II) 1923-37: recognition of the Boskop type as a component of the Old Yellow South Africans (Drennan, Dart, Galloway); (III) 1937-51: discovery of the Kakamas physical type and recognition of its contribution to the Hottentots (Dreyer, Meiring, Wells).

It is demonstrated that the Hottentots are not a physically homogeneous group. A variety of racial elements can be recognized among those practising the Hottentot culture; of these, it seems that the Kakamas type actually brought the Hottentot culture to Southern Africa from East Africa, North-Eastern Africa or Asia Minor. On their arrival in Southern Africa, these Kakamas people hybridized with the Bush-Boskop already present, as well as with Gerontomorphic and Europoid strains which had reached the sub-continent hybrids earlier. The resulting hybrids, still practising the Hottentot culture, were thus compounded of four or, possibly, five different stocks—Kakamas, Bush, Boskop, Gerontomorph and a less widespread, earlier Europoid strain. The Hottentot culture even diffused beyond the bounds of the Kakamas folk, to be adopted by the indigenes without obvious genetic contact between the physical types.

There are thus regional differences in the proportions of the components: the Nama are mainly Kakamas and Bush; the Korana and the Gonaqua are mainly Bush, Boskop and Gerontomorph; the Cape Western Hottentots are mainly Bush and Boskop. This physical diversity, attendant upon cultural diffusion with or without genetic diffusion, accounts for the widely-differing conceptions of the physical structure of the Hottentot current from time to time.

The recognition of the Hottentots as a distinct group from the Bushmen has, from the earliest times, been based upon the strong cultural divergences shown by the two groups. The problem

facing the physical anthropologist is to determine whether the cultural differences between the hunting, food-gathering Bushmen and the settled, pastoral Hottentots have a parallel in physical differences. Few topics in South African anthropology have led to more debate: on the one hand are those who believe that the Hottentot repre-

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sents a distinct physical type, while on the other, there are some who doubt whether it is at all practicable to distinguish Bushmen and Hottentots. Among those who believe the Hottentot is distinguishable on his physical features, there are several schools of thought - one relates him to the large-headed prehistoric human types whose remains are found in South African cave deposits, while others would see him as a recent invader related to Mesolithic folk of East Africa or to North East African Hamites or to Semites of the Near East.

For this reigning confusion, there are several reasons, which it is hoped will emerge clearly from the present review. Above all, the living Hottentots have hybridized so highly that it has been extremely difficult to obtain a lucid picture of the physical types of which they are blent. This has set conclusions from studies of the surviving peoples at variance with those based on exhumed skeletal material, while the latter has yielded conflicting results, according as to the dating and the geographical location of the remains.

It would be appropriate, at the outset, to review the literature on the physical status of the Hottentot.

Review of Literature: 1872-1923

Fritsch (1872) was among the earliest workers who attempted to separate the Hottentots from the Bushmen somatically, but his conclusions were based on the study of only 15 individuals - 7 Hottentots, 5 Bushmen and 3 Bush-Hottentot hybrids. His claim that the Hottentot was a distinct physical type was supported by Stow (1905) in his important work on *The Native Races of South Africa*. According to Stow, the Bushmen were the aborigines of Southern Africa, whereas the Hottentot tribes had come from the north at a comparatively recent date, encroaching on the Bushman's territory. The migration routes of the Hottentots were carefully traced from Central Africa to the West African littoral, down the coast to the Cape Peninsula, and along the Southern Cape Coast and the Orange River Valley.

Stow's account seems so complete and satisfactory that, as Broom (1923) pointed out, it

might readily have been concluded that the whole problem was solved. However, shortly after this, the important Peringuey collection of skulls of Old Yellow South Africans in the South African Museum, Cape Town, was described by Dr. F. C. Shrub-sall (1907). The skulls sent to Shrub-sall in England were classified into three categories: Bushman, Hottentot and Strandloper. On the basis of this classification, Shrub-sall concluded that the Hottentots present features exactly intermediate between those of Inland Bushman and of Bantu-speaking Negroes. Shrub-sall was in the unfortunate position that the validity of his conclusion depended entirely on the accuracy of Peringuey's identification of the groups to which the skulls belonged. Peringuey later admitted: "It is quite possible that the skulls (sent to Shrub-sall) labelled Hottentot or Bush were not classified with sufficient accuracy." A further 62 skulls were sent to England and, when examined by Shrub-sall in 1911, led to very different conclusions from those to which he came in 1907. In fact, Shrub-sall now found himself quite unable to distinguish between the skulls of Hottentots and those of Bushmen! Peringuey, himself, reached a similar conclusion in respect of living Bushmen and Hottentots (1911):

"It is well-nigh impossible to distinguish now from outer appearance a so-called Colonial Bushman from a native of Hottentot origin. Personally I have given up the attempt. Van Luschán admits also that during his visit in South Africa he was greatly puzzled to decide if a given individual was a Bushman or a Hottentot."

He added:

"Nor am I so sure that the early Colonists did discriminate between the two from a differentiation in physical appearance only. Those who had herds of cattle, and were not too small, were Hottentots; the others, who lived mostly by the chase or kept no cattle or sheep, and were small, were Boschiesmen."

It is clear that the results of Shrub-sall's profound and laborious craniometric analysis must

- unfortunately - be rejected, as throwing no light on the physical differences between Bushmen and Hottentots. The classification of the skulls was perforce arbitrary, because of the extreme difficulty of relating exhumed material to one or other cultural group. Further, hybridization undoubtedly occurred between Bushmen and Hottentots and might be supposed to have increased as the two groups were driven towards each other, by the advance of the Bantu from the north-east and, in the last 300 years, of the European from the south-west. This hybridization would have obscured the differences between Bushmen and Hottentots, especially in such a collection of skulls obtained mainly from the Cape Province where Bush-Hottentot contact, under pressure, was at its maximum.

Another complicating factor was the use of the term, *Strandloper*, to designate yet a third apparent physical type among the groups of skulls sent by Peringuey to England. Shruballs, following Peringuey, regarded the *Strandlopers* as a single, distinct, homogeneous race. Broom (1923) took exception to this usage:

"The *Strandlopers* are really not a race at all, and the name ought never to have been used. All along the coasts of South Africa are to be found "kitchen-middens" of shells formed by natives who had lived on the shores and fed mainly on shell-fish, and near these middens graves of natives are very often found. But the natives that lived along the west coast are very different from those that lived along the south coast."

Those from the West Coast, Broom believed, were mainly Hottentots who had taken to the beach-combing life; those on the South Coast mainly Bushmen. When, in 1921, Peringuey spoke of "*Strand-Looper Hottentots*", he was referring (on Broom's analysis) to only one of the groups which had adopted the beach-combing pattern of life.

With Broom, we must agree that the term "*Strandloper*" is a cultural, not a racial, one and that discussion of the physical features of the *Strandlopers* is unlikely to help directly in solving

our broad problem, the physical status and the somatic origin of the Hottentots.

Broom (1923) could not accept Stow's view that the Hottentots were recent invaders, few in numbers. Choosing as representative skeletons the remains from a group of old graves at Upington on the lower Orange River, he recognized the Hottentot type as a tall, powerful race, with large dolichocephalic heads, and distinct from the Bushmen and Bantu-speaking Negroes. In his conclusion, he opined that "The Hottentots appear to have some affinity with the Boskop type, and may perhaps prove to be an admixture of a northern dolichocephalic race with a southern race such as is represented by the Boskop skull".

In the same paper, Broom distinguished between the physical type of the Koranas and that of the remainder of the Hottentots, thus showing that the Hottentots were not a homogeneous group. His study was based on skulls exhumed from the Vaal River valley and assumed to have belonged to the Korana division of the Hottentots, to which group were added a few living Korana from the Douglas District. The darker colour, greater development of hair on the head and face, and the coarser features of these living Korana suggested to Broom that the Korana were Hottentots who had hybridized with Negroes. He also recognized a big-browed ("Australoid") strain in the Koranas which he believed stemmed from the heavily-browed man of Broken Hill. Later, following the discovery of the fossil man of Tuinplaats (Springbok Flats) he altered his mind and elevated the Korana to a more significant position in the lineage of the Old Yellow South Africans (Broom 1929). The resemblances between the skulls of the Korana and the fossil skulls of Tuinplaats and Fish Hoek (Keith 1931) led Broom to the view that the Korana were the descendants of an ancient race, which flourished in Middle Stone Age times and was distinct from the more markedly Australoid people represented by the skull of Florisbad (Dreyer 1935) and that of the Cape Flats (Drennan 1929). He now came to view the (non-Korana) Hottentots as hybrids between the Korana and the Bushmen.

In emphasizing the physical differences be-

tween the Western Cape Hottentots and the Koranas (among whom he included the now extinct Eastern Cape Gonaqua Hottentots), Broom made a valuable contribution to the understanding of these branches of the Old Yellow South Africans. Subsequent studies have confirmed that living Koranas are somatically distinct from other living Hottentots (Tobias 1955 a).

Broom's classical study of the yellow-skinned races of South Africa (1923) provides a convenient landmark, at which to close the early period in the history of physical studies on the Hottentots. Following the earlier views of Peringuey and Shrubsall - which had tended to obscure the somatic boundaries between Bushmen and Hottentots - Broom's work had restored the two cultural groups to the dignity of distinct physical types. Furthermore, he had drawn a line between two physically different types of Hottentot - the Western (Nama and Cape) and the Eastern (Gonaqua and Korana), and had dismissed the Strandloper from consideration as a distinct type. The same year, 1923, opens a new phase with Dart's recognition of the important role of the Boskop physical type in the ancestry of the living Old Yellow South Africans.

Hottentots and the Boskop Physical Type: 1923-37

The fossilized skull found in 1913 at Boskop, near Potchefstroom, South-Western Transvaal (Haughton 1917), is enormous in size, yet, as Broom first pointed out (1923), agrees more closely in its cranial indices with the skulls of the Bushman than with those of any other type. If the Bushman skull with its diminutive size and foetal features is a pygmaepedomorph, then the Boskop skull should be regarded as a gigantopedomorph (Dart 1940).

For a decade after its discovery, the significance of the Boskop skull remained unappreciated. Broom (1923) thought it represented the "direct but remote ancestors of the Bushmen of to-day", but there was no stratigraphic evidence testifying to the greater age of the Boskop skull. The skull had been found in a lateritic layer beneath an overburden of perhaps 4' 6" of soil and sub-soil in an alluvial valley; it was only much later that

a comparable horizon came to be recognized elsewhere in the Transvaal as the Middle Stone Age land surface, ante-dating the Later Stone Age when the Bushmen flourished. In 1923, Dart announced the discovery of a similar Boskop type from a layer 18 feet deep, underlying Bushman remains in the Zitzikama caves excavated by Mr. F. W. Fitzsimons: here was important evidence that the big-headed type had preceded the Bushmen in the South-Eastern Cape coastal area. Subsequent discoveries revealed that the Boskop type had been broadcast over a wide area of Africa, and the idea grew that a big-headed pedomorphic type of individual had roamed the continent before the Bushmen. To this Boskop type, Dart (1937 a) ascribed the remains from Kallomo, Northern Rhodesia (H. S. Gear 1926), Fish Hoek, (Keith 1931), Matjes River (Keith 1934) and Asselar on the southern confines of the Sahara Desert (Boule and Vallois 1932). At the hands of Galloway (1937 a, b), the concept of the Boskop physical type was extended to include all the Middle Stone Age skulls of Southern Africa. From his study of these remains, Galloway concluded:

"The great similarities found in this group so outweigh the slight divergences that they must all be regarded as representing normal variants of the Boskop physical type." (*op cit.*, p. 99).

The most important features attributed to this type are the large size and pedomorphism of the skull. A re-examination of the skulls assigned to the Middle Stone Age has convinced Wells (1947, published 1952) and the author (Tobias 1955 b) that there is at least one other type apparent among them which is not pedomorphic but moderately gerontomorphic, as manifested particularly by the skulls of Ingwavuma (Border Cave) and Tuinplaats (Springbok Flats). The name Boskop or Boskopoid type, it is recommended, should be retained only for the large-headed group showing pedomorphic features (Tobias 1955 b).

It is with the Boskop type *sensu stricto* - as just defined - that both Dart (1937 a) and Drennan (1936, 1938) believed they could detect an

affinity of the Hottentot. The idea of relating the Hottentot (which is a recent and historic group) to the Boskop (which is a pre-historic type) may perhaps be traced to Broom's (1923) paper and Drennan's classification in 1925 of a big-headed, Boskopoid individual from the dissection hall of the University of Cape Town as a type of Hottentot. Drennan was there apparently using the term "Hottentot" to designate a physical type, since the body was actually that of a Cape Coloured man.

The hypothesis of a Hottentot - Boskop relation gained support from the fact that the Boskopoid skulls of Zitzikama and of Matjes Rivier resembled in their measurements the "Hottentot" skulls measured by Shruballs. On this general resemblance, Drennan based the reasoning which led to his claim that the Hottentots are the lineal, genetic descendants of the Boskop people who formerly inhabited Southern Africa. This claim arose out of his important study on the Later Stone Age cave-dwellers of the Oakhurst shelter, George (1938). He compared these Oakhurst remains with the original group of "Hottentots" studied by Shruballs (1907) and found a close resemblance between the two groups. Drennan did not consider Shruballs's 1907 figures invalid and stated :

"... although Broom has expressed severe criticism about the classification of these specimens, in my opinion, their relatively large numbers (29 Bushman and 19 Hottentot skulls) discount these possible errors to a very considerable extent." (*op. cit.*, p. 264).

and again :

"I find it impossible ... at this stage to dispense with Shruballs's findings, which are based on material regarding which he had no doubt good ethnological and physical grounds for believing that they were members of the Hottentot race." (*op. cit.*, p. 273).

Drennan thus established an affinity between Shruballs's "Hottentots" and some of the Stone Age inhabitants of Southern Africa, an affinity which he believed extended, as well, to the Wilton Later Stone Age people described by Meiring

(1937) from the Matjes River Shelter. Going one step further, Drennan related these two groups of Later Stone Age folk to the Boskop type. Hence, he was able to draw the conclusion that :

"It is to the Boskop type in our own South African caves, and not to relatively modern migrations and hybridizations that we must look for the immediate ancestry of the Hottentot." (*op. cit.*, p. 275).

At first sight, this conclusion of Drennan seems at variance with the later idea that the Kakamas type is the main physical type comprising the Hottentots, as we shall see that the Kakamas skulls are not Boskopoid, *sensu stricto*. However, Drennan is apparently using "Boskop" in the widest sense, to apply to all big-headed, pre-Bushman types - an entirely understandable usage, as it was not widely accepted at that time (1938) that more than one large-headed stock had entered into the make-up of the recent Old Yellow South Africans. Drennan's conclusion is based largely on Shruballs's original conception of the "Hottentot" skull, a conception which Shruballs himself later abandoned (1911), when he reached the conclusion that he was quite unable to distinguish between the skulls of Hottentots and those of Bushmen! It is clear, however, that the groups of skulls examined by Shruballs - as well as other skulls of "Hottentots" examined by Drennan (1938) - do represent recent variants of the Old Yellow South Africans, at least some of whom might have practised the Hottentot culture. It would therefore perhaps be better to say that Drennan's comparisons lead to the significant conclusion that *some of the living or recent Old Yellow South Africans are descended directly from the pre-historic Boskop folk whose remains are found in the caves of Southern Africa*.

Furthermore, once it is realized that several big-headed stocks have entered into the composition of the recent Old Yellow South Africans (only one of which should be designated "Boskopoid"), Drennan's conclusion that the Oakhurst cave-dwellers were descended from pre-existing, big-headed types in South African caves becomes

entirely acceptable. In fact, it is highly probable that a local evolution was taking place in the Southern *cul-de-sac* of Africa, over and above the effects of hybridization with more northerly peoples (Tobias 1953 a).

That the Boskop influence is not confined to the Hottentots among recent peoples was convincingly demonstrated by Dart (1937 a), when he showed that living members of two southern Kalahari Bushman tribes, the !Auni and the †Khomani, include a considerable proportion of individuals with large pedomorphic heads which he identified as Boskopoid in type. This fact, coupled with Shrubbsall's (1911) later conclusion that he could not on cranial evidence alone tell Hottentots and Bushmen apart, led Dart to the view that :

"Physically . . . Hottentots, Strandloopers and the like cannot be distinguished from Bushmen; both are equally Bush-Boskop hybrids. Amidst both of them small-headed Bush types and large-headed Boskop types can be found in a relatively pure state . . . but neither type is more characteristic of the one cultural group than the other." (*op. cit.*, p. 179)

In other words, instead of regarding the Bushmen and the Hottentots themselves as two distinct physical types, Dart saw them as the variously-hybridized descendants of two formerly discrete physical types, the "Bush" and the "Boskop".

L. Schultze (1928), too, was struck by the numerous characteristics possessed in common by living Bushmen and Nama Hottentots—the brown-yellow skin-colour, closely-spiralised, black, sparsely-distributed hair, macronymphia or apron-formation of the female genitalia, steatopygia, narrow palpebral fissure with strong development of the upper lid-fold, broad, flat nasal soft-parts, together with widely-separated orbits, flat, saddleshaped nasal bridge, low face and low skull. However, whereas Dart had concluded that these resemblances were the result of hybridization between two physical types, Schultze inferred that the Bushmen and Hottentots constituted a single race, the Koisan. Galloway, too, had spoken of a single "Bush race" (1933), while Deniker

(quoted by Galloway 1933) had recognized a single "race bochimane".

There is only an apparent difference between the view of Dart, on the one hand, and that of Schultze, Deniker and Galloway, on the other hand ; since the Bushman and the Boskop types might well have possessed a common ancestry in the Middle Stone Age. The ancestral group would then represent the single racial stock spoken of by Galloway, Deniker and Schultze, whereas the divergent types into which this stock had since differentiated would represent Dart's two hybridizing entities. Dart recognized the possibility of a common ancestry :

"The Boskop type did not produce the Bush type, *unless the latter arose as a sport from that type*, because they hybridize like two, genetically distinct, human types."

(Dart 1937 a, p. 179. *Italics mine*).

Elsewhere, I have suggested that the Bushman arose as a dwarfing mutant from the gigantopedomorphic, Boskopoid ancestral stock and, that the evidence of Mumbwa (Dart and del Grande 1931) and of Matjes River (Dreyer, Meiring and Hoffman 1938), indicates that this change took place in Southern or Central Africa before the end of the Middle Stone Age (Tobias 1953 a, 1955 b).

In short, by stressing the significance of the Boskop physical type in the ancestry of the Bushmen and the Hottentots, Drennan at Cape Town and Dart and his co-workers on the Witwatersrand had made another important contribution to the study of the Old Yellow South Africans. Just as 1923 closed the first era in the history of these studies, the year 1937 provided the next landmark : the second era closed in that year with Drennan's presentation of his report on the Oakhurst cave-dwellers to the Royal Society of South Africa and with the publication of Dart's account of the !Auni-†Khomani Bushmen. In the same year, a new phase opened with the description by Dreyer and Meiring of Bloemfontein of a new physical type of Hottentot from Kakamas.

Hottentots and the Kakamas physical Type:
1937-1955

It would be an over-simplification to believe that the giganto-pedomorphic, Boskopoid type was the only large-headed physical type which has gone into the making of the living Old Yellow South Africans, including the Hottentots. Already we have referred to the "Australoid" or gerontomorphic element which Broom first recognized, particularly among the Korana division of the Hottentots. But a further significant large-headed element, the existence of which was surmised by Broom in 1923, was brought to light by Dreyer and Meiring in 1937, from a number of graves along the Orange River near Kakamas. These skulls, which have never yet been completely described, represent a large-headed, but non-pedomorphic group, significantly different from both the Bush and the Boskop types. The Kakamas remains have not been given their due importance in most discussions on the Old Yellow South Africans, and, especially, on the Hottentots: only Wells (1951), in the course of a searching review of the position of the Hottentot has stressed the significance of the Kakamas type and has suggested that it should be regarded, along with the Bush and Boskop types, as a third hybridizing element.

The following description is based upon the published material (Dreyer and Meiring 1937), as well as upon the author's own observations on the skulls, made through the courtesy of the Director of the National Museum, Bloemfontein. In addition, I am indebted to Dr. F. Clark Howell of Chicago for allowing me to use measurements made by him on nine of the Kakamas skulls, through the kindness of Dr. A. C. Hoffman, Director of the National Museum.

The Kakamas remains which differ most from the Bushman and Boskop types represent a narrow-headed, hyperdolichocranial type, with exceptionally long faces and big mandibles, a low craniofacial ratio and other non-pedomorphic features. The population represented is long-headed (mean of Howell's 9 measurements 190.7 mms.), relatively narrow-headed (mean 131.4 mms.), hyperdolichocranial (mean cranial index 68.9%).

The faces are long and narrow, having a mean facial height of 118.9 mms., mean upper facial height of 68.0 mms., mean bizygomatic breadth of 120.6 mms. and mean minimum frontal breadth of 98.4 mms. Other remains from graves in the Orange River Valley are apparently the result of varying degrees of hybridization between this narrow-headed stock and Bush, Bantu and Boskop types.

The provenance that these burials were of an *historically* and *culturally* Hottentot people is excellent, a fact which Dreyer and Meiring (1937, 1952) have been at pains to emphasize. To appreciate the physical status of the Kakamas people, it is necessary to consider their relation with the living Hottentots on the one hand and on the other, to look beyond the historical period, when they lived, to pre-historic times. Chronology is of the utmost importance in approaching this problem; a large part of the confusion has seemingly been caused by extrapolations between the living, the historic and the pre-historic peoples. There are grave dangers in ascribing to a Stone Age fossil skull an epithet based on a living or recent cultural group, such as "Hottentot" or "Korana" (Wells 1941, Keen 1942, Kloppe 1943). In fact, when Wells states that "If a single type is to be defined as Hottentot, it must surely represent the average of the greatest number of skulls known to be Hottentot", we should qualify that by making clear that we are referring to the recent or historic period, since it is only in historic times and the present that we can be certain of diagnosing a cultural "Hottentot".

To consider firstly the relation between the living Hottentots and the Kakamas folk, it is clear at once, from a re-examination of Schultze's results on Nama Hottentots of South-West Africa, that despite the strong Bush features in the Nama, there is also a prominent element making for tallness, longer and narrower and more dolichocephalic heads and longer faces and noses. This element can best be likened craniologically to the Kakamas skulls. Nama Hottentots include a considerable element of this Kakamas type. Kakamas features are even apparent, as the late Prof T. F. Dreyer pointed out in March 1954, in th

plaster life-masks of a group of South West African Hottentots, which masks are in the Department of Anatomy, University of the Witwatersrand. In addition, the Nama show evidence of admixture with a Bush type, most probably the broad-headed Southern Bushmen, which might account for a moderate degree of broadening of the heads of the Nama, as compared with the Kakamas folk.

The fact that the Kakamas folk were historically Hottentots and that modern cultural Hottentots resemble the Kakamas type in bony architecture does not entitle us to speak of the Kakamas narrow-heads as the "purest" or "only true" Hottentots. The possibility remains that other physical types may have plied the Hottentot culture and spoken the Hottentot language. Further, one would have to enquire into the origin of the culture: did these narrow-headed people start the Hottentot culture, or, at least, bring it to Southern Africa? This brings us to consider the prehistoric affinities of the Kakamas folk. While it is not at all difficult to trace the living and historic Bush and Boskop types back to their Later, and even Middle Stone Age forebears in Southern Africa, as Drennan emphasized (1938), a more serious problem is presented by the ancestry of the Kakamas type. Of all the fossil skulls found in Southern Africa, only the Middle Stone Age skull of Springbok Flats qualifies for comparison with the Kakamas type as Dreyer and Meiring pointed out (1937); but it is a resemblance based largely on the features of the mandible, a bone which Dart has recently shown is notoriously variable and therefore unreliable for comparative studies (1955).

The more important affinities, to which Dreyer and Meiring have drawn attention, are with some of the Mesolithic crania of Elmenteita (Leakey 1935). As Wells (1951) has pointed out, this tall, dolichocephalic, long-faced Elmenteita type may well be considered to realize the "northern dolichocephalic type" postulated by Broom in 1923 as an element in the Hottentot. The Elmenteita people, in turn, seem to be related to the Caucasoid type, although perhaps not as closely as were the Upper Palaeolithic people ('proto-Hamites') of Gamble's Cave, Naivasha and Olduvai.

Hottentots and the Caucasoids

This somatic link between the Kakamas type and the Caucasoids is of interest in view of the cultural resemblances between the Hottentots and the Hamitic or Semitic peoples of North-East Africa and South-East Europe. Meiring (1937) has reviewed the literature on the North African and supposed Hamitic affinities of the Hottentots. Vedder (1926), Schapera (1926) and Dreyer (1932) all consider that the Hottentot was a late immigrant into Southern Africa from the north-easterly parts of the continent. Schapera states the view that "the Hottentots constitute a very early blend of the Bushmen with the Hamitic-speaking negroes, who emigrated South from North Africa, bringing with them those elements of culture which now distinguish the Hottentots". Dreyer believed that the Hottentot was descended from the same Cro-magnon-like race which had, long before, sent immigrants into South Africa to mix with the early Mossel Bay South Africans, resulting in the Europoid skulls of Matjes River Shelter. Keith (1933), too, relates the Hottentots to the Hamites of North-Eastern Africa. These views and others enable Meiring to conclude: "We may therefore look to the Elmenteitan Man as an expression of that race from which our Hottentots are to be ultimately derived." Jeffreys (1955) has presented evidence that the cultural affinities of the Hottentots are with Semites rather than Hamites; he has summarized the Hottentot features which suggest Asiatic and Semitic affinities as follows:

- (a) Asiatic cattle;
- (b) Asiatic cattle customs;
- (c) Semitic traditions;
- (d) Semitic burial and eschatological customs;
- (e) Semitic hero cult.

Somatically, it is difficult to decide precisely to which Caucasoid sub-group the Kakamas type is most closely related.

The Elmenteitans themselves were at a Mesolithic cultural stage and thus could not have been the bearers of the pastoral culture of the Hottentots. Furthermore, the relation between the Kakamas folk of the historic period and the Elmen-

teitan people of the late prehistoric period, as well as the absence of the Kakamas type from the fossil record in Southern Africa, argues strongly in favour of the Kakamas people having been late arrivals on the South African scene from East Africa. Since the Elmenteitans lived at the end of the Makalian wet phase (Leakey 1935), they were too early by perhaps 10-12,000 years to have been the actual proto-Hottentots. But the Elmenteitan type survived into the Neolithic period in East Africa: as evidenced by the Elmenteitan affinities of some of the Gumban, a people found at the Makalia burial site and the Njoroan folk from the Njoro River Cave. So, the Elmenteitan type was still present in the Nakuran Wet Phase, perhaps 2,800 B. C. (Leakey 1935, Cole 1954, Clark 1954). Even this date is probably too early to account for the origin of the special cultural (Hottentot) traits of the Kakamas people. Dreyer and Meiring (1937) clearly realized this difficulty and tried to harmonize the two datings: "The two groups - Elmenteitans and Namnykoa (Kakamas Hottentots) - are so strikingly similar that one feels a strong disinclination to allow any very appreciable time interval between the periods during which they lived. For the Namnykoa we would put this period as approaching its end in 1775 and beginning at least a couple of hundred years before that date." The dating of the Namnykoa is probably accurate, on the evidence of Wikar's narrative, although its beginnings may be of greater antiquity, but the facts show that a lengthy period of time must have separated these Kakamas people from the Elmenteitans. That the Elmenteitans themselves may have spread southwards remains a possibility, but if they did, it was not as the bearers of the Hottentot culture.

The presence of Semitic elements in the Hottentot culture (Jeffreys, 1955) and the resemblance between the Elmenteitans and the Caucasoids makes it reasonable to suppose - as Jeffreys points out - that a north-eastern African or south-eastern European type, possibly similar to the Elmenteitans, migrated southwards relatively recently, carrying with it the elements of Hottentot culture. This Hottentot culture may well have diffused into East African people of Elmenteitan

type, which is one possible explanation of the Elmenteitan physical affinities of the Old Yellow South Africans who practised the Hottentot culture. Traces of the migration may still be apparent in the Hottentot resemblances, in both physical measurements and language, of the Sandawe, a 21,000-strong tribe living in the Central Province of Tanganyika (Trevor 1950). In fact, after a profound statistical study, Trevor concluded that "the Nama Hottentots and the Sandawe are of the same stock".

An interesting account of the traditional origins of the Sandawe was given Trevor (1950) by Alphonse Inde:

"About 450 years ago, after the Sandawe had almost abandoned hunting, there was a severe famine caused by failure of the rains. Perhaps half the tribe, which was smaller than it is now, left Usandawe, never to be heard of again."
(Trevor, *op. cit.*, p. 62).

What part the Sandawe immigrants contributed to the composition of the Hottentots remains unsettled; but it is tempting to envisage a link between this traditional tribal exodus and some of the Hottentots of Southern Africa.

The Recent History of the Hottentots

On their arrival, the large-headed invaders must have hybridized with the Stone Age folk already present in Southern Africa - the Bushmen, the Boskop people, the Bush-Boskop hybrids, and the "Australoid" or gerontomorphic folk. The Bush-Boskop hybrids were probably a numerous and widespread element, found scattered right across Southern Rhodesia (Tobias 1955 c) and in many coastal caves of the southern area (Dreyer 1933). The Kakamas type absorbed many Bush-Boskop features into their physical make-up, while retaining their Hottentot culture; this would explain the numerous resemblances found by Schultze and others between living Bushmen and Hottentots. At the same time, there is little evidence of Kakamas physical features being grafted on to people who were culturally Bushmen; the Kakamas type has not been reported to crop out in any described groups of Bushmen, living

or recent, in Southern Africa, although several Northern Bushman face-masks in the Witwatersrand Department of Anatomy suggest the imprint of the Kakamas type. Some, at least, of the Bush-Boskop inhabitants seem to have taken over the Hottentot culture, without absorbing much of the Kakamas physical type: only in this way can we explain the numerous examples of skulls from the Cape, claimed to have belonged to cultural Hottentots, yet showing only or predominantly blends of Boskop and Bush features. Here was cultural diffusion without genetic diffusion, in much the same way as the diffusion of Metal Culture preceded the genetic diffusion of the Negroes in Southern Rhodesia (Tobias 1955 c). Yet, Rhodesia seems to have escaped the genetic influence of the Kakamas people, since the human story there is one of progressive negrotisation of the earlier Bush-Boskop population, with no recognized evidence of the Kakamas physical type. This fact may assist us in deducing the path taken by the invaders, a path commonly believed to have been down the west coast of Africa, thus by-passing Southern Rhodesia (Stow 1905).

At the same time, it seems probable that the Kakamas type was only one of several types which invaded Southern Africa; other invaders may be represented by the "Europide" strain recognized by Wells in skulls II and III from Louisvale (1948) and identified by Dreyer (1933) and Meiring (1937) in skulls from the Matjes River Shelter; while the latest invasion was that of the Bantu-speaking Negro.

On this analysis, the various groups of Hottentots, living and historic, represent blends of physical types, some but not all of which can be related to the Kakamas invaders of relatively recent times. The Kakamas type seems to be strongest among the living Nama of South-West Africa and among the historic Hottentots who lived along the Orange River and who have been described for us by Wikar (1779). Even here, though, there is much evidence of hybridization; the invaders absorbed Bush genes and, latterly, Negro genes. What Boskop element has entered into the Nama has probably been mediated by "Boskopised" Bushmen, since it is likely that,

by the time the Kakamas folk entered Southern Africa, the Boskop type as a major population group had been largely submerged in the great population of Bush-Boskop hybrids, or replaced by pygmaeo-pedomorphs of Bush type.

Among the old Cape-Western Hottentots, now largely absorbed into the "Hotnots" (Afrikaans colloquial term for Cape Coloured), it seems that the Kakamas type had made but little genetic impression, and the physical stock of these Cape-Western Hottentots seems to have been largely Bush-Boskop or Boskop-Bush.

The Old Cape Eastern Hottentots or Gonaqua are also largely Bush-Boskop, although with a not inconsiderable element relating them to the fourth major Hottentot group, the Korana (Broom 1941). This additional element must have been derived from a gerontomorphic stock.

Finally, the Korana Hottentots, like the two groups of Old Cape Hottentots, largely escaped the Kakamas influence; they resemble the Gonaqua in possessing a blend of Bush and Boskop features, with an admixture of "Australoid" or gerontomorphic elements (Tobias 1953 b). However, there may be some suggestion of a Kakamas influence among the Korana (Tobias 1955 a).

In short, it seems that the historically more northerly Hottentot tribes have a greater element of the Kakamas type in them, while the southerly tribes - to which the Korana, too, belonged before they migrated northwards away from the spread of European settlement in the Cape toward the end of the 17th Century - have an appreciably greater element of Bush and Boskop and proportionately less of the Kakamas type.

Racial Components of the Hottentots: a Synthetic View

At least four different strains have entered into the physical composition of the Hottentots:

(i) The *Boskop* type, descended from one of the large-headed strains which inhabited Southern Africa during Middle Stone Age times: although still surviving into the later Stone Age and historic period - exemplified perhaps by the gigantopedomorph of Plettenberg Bay (Drennan 1931)

— it is probable that this type had become largely blended into the Bush type as the hybrid Bush-Boskop and Boskop-Bush people, through which intermediaries a Boskop element became an integral part of the Hottentots.

(ii) The *Bush* type, probably sprung by dwarfing mutations from the gigantho-pedomorphs towards the end of the Middle Stone Age: it is on to this group of relatively pure Bushmen, as well as on to the “Boskopised” Bushmen, that the Hottentot culture and the Kakamas genes were mainly grafted. The grafting process took place chiefly in the western and southern parts of South Africa, but not in the easterly (Natal, Transvaal and Moçambique) nor in the northerly (Rhodesia) parts. In the south-western areas, the cultural grafting or diffusion was widespread, whereas the genetic influence was less marked (these were the Hottentots of Shrubbsall 1907, Dart 1937 a, Drennan 1938, Keen 1947); whereas in the north-western parts of this area, the territory of the Nama, the genetic influence of the Kakamas type was much stronger (the Hottentots of Dreyer and Meiring).

(iii) The *Gerontomorphic* type, probably descended from such forms as are represented by the fossil skulls of Tuinplaats, Ingwavuma (Border Cave) and Cape Flats; the former two fossils are well dated to a Pietersburg cultural horizon of the South African Middle Stone Age (probably Gamblian Pluvial in age), while the Cape Flats skull is more doubtfully associated with a Still Bay cultural level (advanced Middle Stone Age). This Gerontomorphic line seems to represent an especially ancient south-central African line of descent, of which the earliest known representatives may be the Rhodesioid group of remains from Broken Hill, Saldanha Bay, Lake Eyasi, Florisbad and the Cave of Hearths, Makapansgat. Sub-recent or undated representatives of the Rhodesioid-Gerontomorphic line are the skulls of Bayville, Mistkraal and Canteen Kopje, while the Korana section of the Hottentots, possibly as well as the Gonaqua, show the Gerontomorphic heritage in the greatest degree.

(iv) To these three groups, which can all be traced back into the Middle Stone Age of South-

ern Africa and earlier in the case of the third group, must be added an extrinsic immigrant element, represented by the *Kakamas* skulls. The Kakamas type seems to have affinities with East African Mesolithic people and might even be traced back to the Upper Palaeolithic people of North-East Africa, such as the “proto-Hamites” of Gamble’s Cave II, Lake Naivasha and Olduvai (Leakey 1953). On the other hand, there may be affinities with much later Semitic speaking people from North-East Africa and South Eastern Europe. It is likely that these Kakamas folk were responsible for introducing the Hottentot culture to Southern Africa.

Blood Groups of the Hottentots

The foregoing conclusions, based on skeletal material, are supported by the evidence of the blood-groups. Pijper (1935) showed that the Hottentots of South-West Africa are characterized by a very low percentage of Group O (34·8%) and a high percentage of B (29·2%) — almost as high as the percentage of A (30·6%). These two figures strongly differentiate the Hottentots from both the Bantu-speaking Negroes and the Bushmen. To explain how the blood composition of living Hottentots came about, Pijper postulated a cross between Bushmen and a race with high O and B incidence. But he did not know of any such race, although he drew attention to an unusually high incidence of B in the Chilians and Filipinos and to the exclusive presence of O and B in the Ona and Yaghan of Tierra del Fuego. Zoutendyk (1954) has since confirmed and extended Pijper’s findings on the Hottentots. Attention has been drawn to the close relation between the ABO blood-group picture in the Hottentots and that of the Semitic peoples of Iran (Hooton 1947), which indirectly supports the views of Jeffreys that the alien cultural traits of the Hottentots are Semitic in their affinities. Dart (1937 b), too, emphasizes a relation with Asia Minor:

“These physical traits (in the South African Native population) referred to loosely and popularly as “Semitic” or “Arabic” are derived not from the primitive Brown indigenes of the

Mesopotamian and Arabian area, but from the Armenoids, who from their ancient homeland of Turkistan deluged the "fertile crescent" in successive victorious waves, from Dynastic Egyptian times onwards. This formed the avenue of their approach, by land and sea, to Southern Africa during the historical period." (*op. cit.*, p. 14).

If the avenue of this approach to Southern Africa was through East Africa, or if the Semites were closely related physically to the Elmenteitans, it would be possible to understand the genetic affinity of the Kakamas people and the present-day Hottentots with the East African peoples of Mesolithic times.

CONCLUSIONS

It has been shown that the conflicting views held on the physical structure of the Hottentot arise from several factors:

(a) Insufficient stress has been laid on the time-component, epithets applicable in one period, such as the present, being loosely applied in other periods, such as the historic and the prehistoric.

(b) Some workers have used "Hottentot" in what we consider to be the correct sense, namely as applied to a culture in Southern Africa – for this is the manner in which the early Cape colonists first used the term; whereas, others have – in our view erroneously – used the term to designate a distinctive physical type or race.

(c) It has been assumed that all people practising the Hottentot culture were physically alike.

(d) It has further been claimed that the earliest practitioners of the Hottentot culture were the only people to whom the name "Hottentot" should be applied.

When the causes of the different and, often, conflicting views are appreciated, it becomes clear, as Wells (1948) has pointed out, that the divergences of opinion are more apparent than real. In fact, when it is realized that not all the people who practised the Hottentot culture were physically alike and, that the cultural and genetic influences at play extend back in time from the

present day to the depths of the Stone Age, a great measure of harmonisation of the conflicting views becomes possible.

We may summarize the conclusions reached in this study as follows:

(i) The Kakamas people, having affinities with east Africans and possibly with the Semitic folk of Iran and Mesopotamia – as Jeffreys claims – brought the Hottentot culture from the North to Southern Africa at an unknown but not very ancient date;

(ii) When the Kakamas folk arrived in Southern Africa, they found a numerous, pygmaeo-pedomorphic people, the Bushmen, compounded mainly of the Bush and Boskop physical types, with a slight admixture of a Gerontomorphic strain and possibly an earlier Europoid strain; they also found some relatively unhybridized Bush, Boskop and Gerontomorphic types.

(iii) Hybridization between the new invaders and the old indigenes followed and the practitioners of the Hottentot culture absorbed a large component of Bush-Boskop genes into their genetic constitution; these Bushmanized and, to some extent Boskopised, Kakamas people lived mainly in South-West Africa and the Orange River Valley (represented by the present-day Nama).

(iv) Diffusion of the Hottentot culture followed to the south of this area, so that people who were mainly Bush and Boskop in their physical composition, but had absorbed very little of the Kakamas genes, became practitioners of the Hottentot culture (represented by many of the old Cape Western Hottentots).

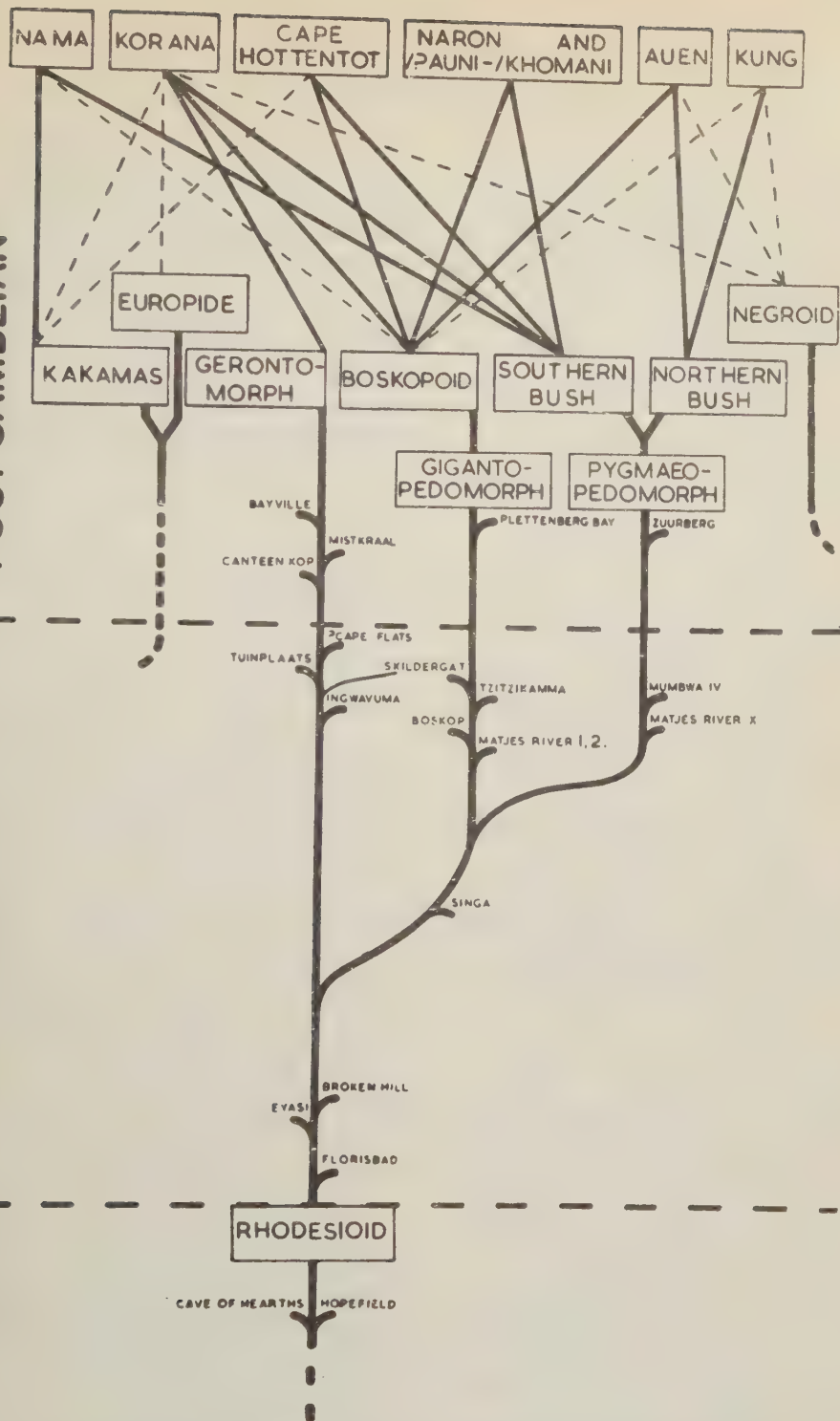
(v) Some of the people who became affected by the Hottentot culture, and, to a moderate extent, by Kakamas genes, already had an appreciable Gerontomorphic element in them as well as a Bush-Boskop structural basis. These became the Korana, and, in the Eastern Cape, the Gonaqua.

(vi) The living and historic Hottentots have thus been compounded physically of four or, possibly, five different stocks – the Bush, Boskop, Gerontomorphic and Kakamas, with a less widespread, earlier Europoid strain. Just as there are

POST GAMBLIAN

GAMBLIAN

KANJERAN



The postulated lines of descent of living Old Yellow South Africans, based upon the main conclusions of this study, as well as upon the results of my study on Kalahari Bushmen.

Nordic Englishmen and Mediterranean Englishmen, so there have been Kakamas Hottentots, Kakamas-Bush Hottentots, Kakamas-Bush-Boskop Hottentots, Kakamas-Bush-Boskop-Gerontomorphic Hottentots, Bush-Boskop Hottentots and Bush-Boskop-Gerontomorphic Hottentots.

In this way, it is possible to unravel the variety of racial threads which have become woven into the skeinwork of Hottentot culture in Southern Africa.

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THE INITIATION OF A BACA ISANGOMA DIVINER

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SYNOPSIS

The activities and social function of the Nguni diviner (Zulu, Baca isangoma; Xhosa igqira) has been described by a number of writers, notably Hunter and Kohler. This article gives an account of an initiation ceremony observed among the Baca of the Mount Frere district, East Griqualand and, as such, fills a gap in the published data on the subject.

A person is "called" to the profession by the ancestral spirits and a diviner is conceived to be in a special relationship towards them. The initiation takes place after a year's preliminary training with an established doctor, during which time the novice attends séances (intlombe) and acquires an extensive knowledge of medicinal plants. Food and social taboos are observed and dreams play an important part in directing personal life. The initiation consists of séances, through which rapport is established with the spirits, and the ritual killing of a white goat (umthul' entabeni) and a beast (inkomo yokuphuma), the latter revealed to the novice in a dream. A final intlombe, held in the open air (this is the only occasion on which this occurs), when the novice dons the full regalia, marks the attainment of full professional status. Throughout she is supported by other diviners who attend the ceremony.

A description of a typical thwasa dream is appended.

In publishing the following description of the initiation ritual of a Baca diviner, my main purpose has been to put on record a little-known aspect of the training of these magico-religious practitioners.¹ The training and functions of the Nguni *izangoma* (Xh. *igqira*) have been described in detail by a number of writers, notably Hunter² and Kohler³ but no description of the actual initiation ceremony has yet appeared in print. Hunter does mention Mpondo initiation generally, but my material on the East Griqualand Baca differs radically from hers. The data are presented

in the form of a case history of one particular initiate and, while it is not claimed that the exact ceremony is followed in every case, the basic pattern would seem to be common to, at least, those diviners practising in East Griqualand. By far the majority of diviners are women. The training of initiates is in the hands of an already established diviner who may, because of her reputation and prestige, attract people to her from over a large area. In the case described, Mamjoli, the 'mother' of the 'school', had novices under her tutelage from as far afield as Peddie and

diviners deals with this latter group, and reference is made to his photographs which portray typical Baca *izangoma* types. The ceremony described was witnessed personally by me.

² Hunter, M.: *Reaction to Conquest* (1936), pp. 320-48. The whole question of the nature and function of the diviner in the community is exhaustively treated; her findings, as those of Kohler, are substantially true for the Mount Frere Baca and reduplication is felt to be superfluous.

³ Kohler, M.: *The Isangoma Diviners* (1941), Ethnological Publ. No. 9, Department of Native Affairs.

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¹ The material on which this study is based was collected in 1949 in the Mount Frere district of East Griqualand during field investigations financed by the National Council for Social Research. The Baca are a Nguni people, probably of Lala origin, who fled from Natal during the Tshakan era. There are to-day two independent tribes in the Mount Frere district while a third, the senior branch, under the descendants of Chief Cijisiwe, occupies locations in the Ixopo and Bulwer districts of southern Natal. Kohler's study of

Kokstad and it appears that there is a definite bond between those initiated by the same diviner. It is also possible that the detail of initiations differs with different teachers.

The pre-initiatory experiences of most diviners follow a clearly defined traditional pattern. After the onset of the *thwasa* illness with its characteristic pains and nausea, the subject goes to a well-known diviner and asks to be cured. The *isangoma* will indicate which ancestor is troubling and whether it is of the father's or mother's family, for either may be responsible. The *amatfongo* (ancestral spirits) of a man's father or of a woman's father, or even of her husband, are always mainly responsible, however. The usual means of spirit communication is through dreams and dream contents are traditionally determined, following stereotyped patterns. Always the novice dreams of a beast, which may or may not be in the herd of a relative, a white stone, *ikhubalo*, the possession of which is necessary to complete recovery, and a spear. The *ikhubalo* stone's whereabouts is revealed in a vivid dream, usually associated with the river bank,¹ while both the spear and beast must be obtained from the owner or else the novice will become sick and perhaps die. Throughout the training period the novice is in constant danger of ritual impurity which entails dietary and social taboos (she must not attend beer drinks, weddings etc.) and is expected to abstain from sexual intercourse. Generally speaking the life and activities of the Baca novice are remarkably similar to that of her Mpondo counterpart, except for the apparent absence of the concept of the *ityala* or animal-form in which the troubling spirit is said to appear (Hunter, p. 321). Both male and female novices wear a short white skirt and, in the woman's case, the breasts are covered with a breast cloth of the same material. The head is shaven and for ritual occasions a square of untanned cowhide is fixed to it to which three or four goat gallbladders are attached.²

¹ See Appendix for a description of a typical *thwasa* dream.

² Gallbladders are worn by all diviners. They are inflated and allowed to dry out thoroughly and are thought to harbour the *itfongo* (spirit).

³ There are a number of similarities between an initiation and the treatment of a bride on marriage.

For every-day wear the female novice binds a white cloth or handkerchief low over her forehead in the *hlonipha* custom of the young bride.³ The only ornament worn is a necklace of medicinal herbs threaded on a cord.

The initiation

Rosina, a woman of about forty, had been employed in domestic service in the town of Kokstad, about fifty miles north of Mount Frere, and first became sick in 1945 with pains in the whole body "head, chest and even fingers". She did not realize that it was the ancestors who had sent the sickness, but eventually she became so bad that she returned to her home in the Mount Frere district to consult a diviner, Mamjoli, wife of the brother of the location headman. She had dreamed continually of the "old people" (*abantfu abadzala*) and that they had given her a beast. She was told by Mamjoli that she had an *inkathazo* (lit. trouble⁴) and that "her head should be white" (referring to the white bead headdress, *isiyaca*, worn by all Baca diviners). She decided to submit to treatment. Rosina stayed with relatives,⁵ the family of N., her father's sister's husband, but much of the time she lived at Mamjoli's kraal, in a special hut set aside for her, and accompanied her teacher on her professional visits, observing the technique of the *xhentsa* dance and the correct organization of the séance (*intlombe*).

Early in her sickness she dreamt of a particular goat in N's kraal which was slaughtered for her without question. It was described as a goat for *yeyokungenisa umntfu onenhloko emhlophe* (to bring in a person with a white head), and bracelets were made of the skin (*iingqwambi*) and placed on the wrists and ankles to alleviate the pains.

Rosina remained for a year under Mamjoli's care and, apart from dancing and divining, acquired an extensive knowledge of the various medicinal plants. During the seclusion period

⁴ *Izangoma* use an extensive *hlonipha* vocabulary. Thus a spear is never *umkhonto* but always *umwafo*. Stock are called *iincamazana*, goats being termed *iincamazana ethi mhe* (animals who say "mhe") and cattle, *iincamazana ethi mho* (animals who say "mho").

⁵ Her husband was dead and her only son was attending school at a missionary institution.

Rosina dreamed of a certain beast owned by a relative of N's who lived close by. She stated to me that she had never seen the beast before. The beast was given to her, again without question, but kept at the owner's kraal until the day of the initiation proper. In the same way she dreamed about a spear, in a kraal about nine miles away, which, after she had obtained it, she carried with her whenever she went out with Mamjoli.

Later her husband's grandfather, whom she had never seen, appeared to her in a dream and showed her a white stone, *ikhubalo*, which he told her where to find. Immediately she awoke she went to the place indicated in her dream which was situated about ten miles away on the Umzimvu River. The white stone was under a rock above a pool and she prized it loose with her spear.¹ At the pool she stated that she met an old man who smeared her face with the white, clayey stone. She returned to Mamjoli's kraal at sunrise and waited in the cattle kraal. Mamjoli came out to her² and gave her a pot of *ubulawu* medicine with which to remove the white clay. That evening a white fowl was killed: "It is a law (*umthetho*) that the fowl should be killed when the stone is found." Two days later a goat was slaughtered and the blood smeared on the *ikhubalo* "so that the ancestral spirits will be *cola* (honoured)".³ The goat (*incamazana yobala*) was cut up and eaten and the intestinal fat (*umhlelo*) was twisted into coils and hung round Rosina's neck, while the gallbladder (*inyongo*) was attached to a small square of hide and fastened to the head as the distinctive insignia of a novice. During the period before initiation she abstained from eating kaffir corn, beans, intestines, tea and salt.⁴

About a year later preparations were made for the initiation proper. Large quantities of beer were prepared at both N's and Mamjoli's kraals, as the latter homestead was to be the meeting place of the visiting diviners who had come to

participate in the ceremony. Word of the initiation had got round and was the main topic of conversation in the district. A week previously Rosina visited the trading store and bought yards of white calico for her diviner's costume.

On the day before the initiation Rosina left N's kraal to spend the night at Mamjoli's *umti* (household) from where she would be escorted back home for the actual ceremony. During the afternoon the young men of N's kraal and other relatives kept watch for the *izangoma's* arrival and, as soon as the monotonous chant of the approaching diviners was heard, a message was sent from those watching the road so that the welcoming pot of beer could be sent to them by a newly-married bride, relative of Rosina. Word was also sent to the kraal of Sidalo, younger brother of N, for the cattle to be driven out, for it was about one of his herd that Rosina had dreamed in the early days of her novitiate. Meanwhile the diviners had stopped some distance from N's *umti* and, swaying in a long line to the stamping *xhentsa* dance,⁵ were singing their haunting chant:

"Tsin' amaBaca, sise sebumnyameni: sifun' ukhanyo kuni 'matfongo.'" ("We Baca are still in darkness: we want a light from you, ancestral spirits").

As the cattle approached, Mamjoli, an old woman of about 60, darted forward and brandished her cow-tail switch under the nose of the first beast, causing the herd to mill round in their fright. The *izangoma* sang louder and the men present joined in their song. The line of diviners advanced, dancing, towards the, by now, thoroughly frightened cattle while the men surrounded them and kept them in one place by waving sticks and shouting "*Khwel'imfene! Khwel'imfene!*" ("Mount a baboon!")⁶ Suddenly, at an order from Mamjoli, the dancing and shouting stopped and the *izangoma* clustered round the

¹ *Ukucola* - "To kill for a guest".

² The details of food taboos differ among diviners.

³ There were about 18 diviners present, including eight novices. All but five were women.

⁴ Unfortunately I was unable to ascertain why they used this formula.

¹ She stated that if she had used her hands she would have died. The remarkable similarity between this dream and the one related in the Appendix is interesting as it illustrates the stereotyping of dream experiences among diviners.

² This is significant as normally no woman is allowed in the cattle kraal because of the *umlaza* sexual taboos.

pot of beer, the men squatting down in a group by themselves. Before drinking Mamjoli addressed the *amatfongo* (ancestral spirits) with the words: "Come, ancestral spirits, so that the way will be white!"¹

Having finished the beer the *izangoma* reformed their line and proceeded towards N's kraal, singing and driving the cattle before them. Rosina walked in the centre of the group, silent and demure, while the excited onlookers followed shouting remarks interspersed with exuberant yells of "*Hola! Hola! Hola!*" The *umti* reached, the cattle were driven into the cattle kraal, again with cries of "*Khwel'imfene!*" and the diviners manoeuvred up to them as if to attack an enemy, brandishing their spears. A white goat was fetched by N. and given to the *izangoma*. It was then led by N. towards the hut set aside to accommodate the visiting practitioners. It was followed, in single file, by two small children carrying baskets, the diviners and the onlookers who had by this time gathered at the kraal. The diviners, both male and female, sat down on the women's (left-hand) side of the hut, after thrusting their spears into the thatch, while the rest of those present occupied the right-hand side. The goat (called *umthul' entabeni*)² was held by N. in the centre facing the back of the hut. Relinquishing the goat to the care of a male relative, N. made a short speech of welcome to the visiting diviners to which they all replied with the ritual greeting: "*Camagu!*" ("blessing"), and the goat was taken out and killed by the young men of the *umti*.³ The meat of the *umthul' entabeni* was lightly roasted and eaten by the diviners after Rosina had tasted of the *imbe-ihfu*,⁴ "to take her out" from her seclusion and taboos.

The diviners then began an *intlombe* (séance) which continued long into the night. There were about 80 people in the hut, including young men and girls and a few children. Five young people of both sexes sat in front of a rolled up cow-hide

(*ikhawu*) and emphasized the rhythm of the dance by beating it with short sticks; the noise was deafening and the dust rose chokingly from the feet of the dancing diviners. A diviner would stand up facing the back of the hut and begin to speak in a low, tense voice, breaking off suddenly to address the audience – "*Vumani!*" (Agree!), whereupon the *ikhawu* would be thumped and the onlookers chorus "*Siyavuma!*" ("We agree!"). A novice, a young boy of seventeen dressed in the short white skirt of a learner, got to his feet and began speaking:

Novice: "It is hoped that the novice (Rosina) will sleep well and have good dreams and also that she does her work successfully. Agree!"
Chorus: "*Siyavuma!*"

Novice: "There is a girl here who is sick on one side of her body. There is a certain pain (*intlungu ethile*) which goes up the whole body to her right arm and then to the fingers. Agree!"

Chorus: "*Siyavuma!*" (Beating of hide.)

Then, pointing to a girl in the audience:

Novice: "*Vuma, mntfanam ukuba kunjalo.*" ("Agree my child if it is so.")

The girl nodded and the novice sat down.

Another novice, this time a girl, rose and began the line of a chant. It was taken up by those present and sung repeatedly, the novice breaking into the peculiar stamping *shentsa* dance. When the dancing had reached a peak of tension the novice held up her hand and the dancing stopped. Then, in a tense, husky voice, she said rapidly:

"I thank you, people of God, and you, ancestral spirits of Siwela (the *isibongo* of Rosina's clan), hoping that this work will succeed. [*Gweje obomvu?*] is like the *itolwane* (kind of plant). Beautiful *amatfongo* complete this work so that it will be good – that it will be successful. *Nithi ni?* (What do you say?).

as does a bride to her husband's kraal.

² Usually the goat is killed inside the hut but Mamjoli stated that the spirits wished it to be killed outside on this occasion.

⁴ Xhosa, *intsonyama*, part between shoulder and ribs, of special ritual significance.

¹ Note the ritual importance of white in the cult: a diviner is one whose "head is white", the white stone, headdress, dress and sacrificial goat and fowl.

² The same name is used for the goat killed at a marriage: this goat was dreamed about by the novice during the training period. The novice arrives at dusk,

As the evening wore on people began to leave for their kraals and after midnight the diviners retired for the night, men and women sleeping on their respective sides of the hut.

At about ten o'clock the following morning the *izangoma* donned their bead headdresses and other regalia, and, led by Rosina, walked slowly in single file to the cattle kraal of the *umti*, chanting their song. The cattle had not been sent out to graze and became restive as the line of diviners filed through the entrance and formed a line facing them, still dancing and singing.¹ Four or five young men of the Bele clan (N's) entered and threw the ritual beast, securing it with ropes round legs and horns. N. then handed Rosina the sacrificial spear with which she approached the prostrate animal and pricked it over the heart - a symbolic gesture, as no woman may slaughter a beast. Informants stated that this action represented the *amatfongo* who were in reality killing the beast. N.'s younger brother then took the spear from her and stabbed the victim over the aorta (muscle). The spear struck a rib and broke, and another was fetched. This time the blade went home and the horns and legs of the beast were freed of the ropes. It scrambled to its feet bellowing, and there was a concerted rush of diviners and spectators to the gate of the cattle kraal, the women in particular being frightened. When they saw the stricken beast stagger against the farther wall of the kraal, however, the line was reformed amid much laughter and good-natured chaffing and the *izangoma* then *xhentsa'd* slowly towards the wounded animal, chanting a triumphant song. Slowly the line advanced and then, as slowly retreated. It became evident that the beast had not received a death wound, and it was again thrown and stabbed.² Finally it crumpled up and lay on the ground breathing heavily, while the chanting doctors and excited spectators gathered round in a circle singing. As it was obvious that the animal was dying rapidly, Rosina was directed by Mamjoli to kneel down

and inhale its breath "so that she should be clear". She was then made to sit down with legs apart in front of the beast which had now died, while Mamjoli thrust her hand into its mouth removing from it some of the chyme (*umswane*) forced into its mouth by its struggles. This was mixed with blood from the stab wounds and applied with the forefinger in lines down Rosina's forehead and nose, cheeks, back of neck, legs and arms, while the diviners continued singing and addressing the novice with cries of "*Camagu!*" This part of the ceremony over, the diviners returned to their hut while the spectators dispersed into groups in the environs of the *umti*.

The beast (called *inkomo yokuphuma* - the beast of coming out) was then skinned by Bele clan members. The skin above the right fore hoof was left as this would be made into a bracelet to be worn on Rosina's right wrist. The *imbethfu* was carefully removed and sent to the diviners' hut, where it was mixed with medicines, lightly roasted and eaten by Rosina. The gallbladder was also given to her. In a killing of this type the carcass is divided along the backbone, half going to the diviners and half to those attending the ceremony, whether related to the novice or not. The meat is lightly roasted or eaten raw.

The diviners' portion was carried to them in the hide, and was laid on the floor in the middle of the hut. Mamjoli, as director of ceremonies, and another diviner, removed the intestinal fat and carefully rolled it into seven long coils, smearing them with gall. Three were fastened round Rosina's neck with the rest cross-wise across her breasts. Informants stated that this was done "so that the ancestral spirits might come". During this operation Rosina sat at the back of the hut, on the women's side, while the rest of the diviners conversed and joked, paying little if any attention to what was going on.

At about three o'clock the same afternoon, on instructions from Mamjoli, the *izangoma* began to prepare their regalia in preparation for the

¹ The *umlaza* taboo appeared to be lifted as both men and women diviners entered the cattle kraal freely.

² Informants stated that the beast should be a long time in dying "so that the *izangoma* may sing for it". The words of the chant address the beast tauntingly,

saying that the diviners want the tail for dancing - it will be used by the novice in her professional activities. The beast should bellow on being stabbed, but this is not essential.

intlombe to follow. When all were ready, four young men entered their hut and rolled up the wet cow-hide lying on the floor. Two of them picked it up and, with the other two beating it with sticks, marched out towards the cattle kraal, followed by the line of singing *ixangoma*. This time the attending novices (*abakhwetsa*) remained inside the hut and did not accompany them. Rosina walked with downcast eyes in the middle of the line. She was now dressed in the complete regalia of an initiated *isangoma*, but on her forehead to the bridge of her nose, and on both cheeks, lines of white ochre called *isigqabo* had been painted. She was accompanied by two colleagues with similarly marked faces called *abantwana* (children) for, say the Baca, she is still a child and is afraid and they are there to guard her. The cow-hide was placed on the grass of the *inkundla* (area between cattle kraal and residential huts) and four men of the Bele clan began to beat it¹ with sticks, to the accompaniment of chanting. A full-dress *intlombe* followed. This is the only time that

a séance is conducted in the open air and in daylight. Four diviners, Rosina and her two companions knelt in the background taking no active part.

Presently the dancing stopped and a new grass mat was brought out and spread on the ground. Rosina and her *abantwana* were escorted to it by Mamjoli and all three sat down. Mamjoli's husband produced a small tobacco bag and emptied a number of half-crown pieces onto the mat. They were the fees paid (*roma*) to Rosina for professional services performed while accompanying Mamjoli on her visits during the time of the novitiate (known as *imali yokuxilonga* – "examination fees"). Everyone gathered round as the money was counted. It amounted to £6. 7. 6.

After general congratulations the diviners returned to their hut where meat and beer were taken to them.² That night another *intlombe* was held in the diviners' hut and the following day they returned home.

APPENDIX

MANYONI'S ACCOUNT OF A THWASA DREAM

Manyoni, wife of Malimini, the brother of the district headman, had been a church member, but later became a well-known diviner in the district with a record of having trained eighteen novices during their *thwasa* period. She was an intelligent, friendly woman of about forty-five years with two young children under five years and a son of eighteen. It is interesting that in her account of her dreams she described them as being sent by demons (*iindemoni*), probably a concession to her mission training and a European investigator. This was her story:

(There is no doubt that Manyoni believed implicitly that the following happenings took place;

they are probably a vivid dream-content and should be compared with similar material published by Kohler, *op. cit.*)

She became sick with pains in the body and dreamed about the deceased chief Mngcisana. Her husband was a member of the royal (Zulu) clan and this is an interesting example of how a relative of a husband can be the troubling spirit. In one hand he held an *isiyaca*, the fringed bead headdress worn by diviners, and in the other the white stone (*ikhušalo*) also associated with the cult. In her dream he placed the *isiyaca* on her head, but told her that she would have to find the stone herself. All this happened in "a very difficult

buttocks on the ground where the mat had been lying. This custom is called *ukuleketa* (to rub) and is believed to prevent illness – "the *amatfongo* have been at the place".

¹ From now on the hide of the sacrificial beast would be used at all Rosina's *intlombe* as the *ikhovu* "drum".

² As the diviners left the *inkundla* and the grass mat was rolled up and removed, a woman dashed out of the crowd carrying a small baby and swiftly rubbed its

and dangerous place in a pool in the river". She then awoke.

Early the next morning she went alone to the pool indicated in her dream. She had wound a white towel round her head. In the towel was a snuff tin (*iguza*) and, still fully clothed, she went into the water. She sank down until she reached the river bed where she saw an old woman with one leg. The water above was making a noise, but the old woman said: "Don't look up, look down." Manyoni followed the woman and found herself in a room (*indlu*) under the river bank. "It seemed just like a kraal." Spoons were hanging on the wall and she was told not to touch them. Then she saw a small, wizened little man carrying a pail and riems "just as if he were going milking", but he went out without speaking. The old woman beckoned to her and showed her a speckled black and white snake coiled up in the corner of the hut. Underneath it was the white stone. The woman warned Manyoni that the snake would spit and asked for the snuffbox concealed in the towel on her head. She put some snuff on her palm and threw it into the eyes of the snake, blinding it. Quickly the old woman darted forward and snatched the stone.

The woman clasped Manyoni's hand around the stone and with it smeared her face so that it was covered with a chalky whiteness. This indicated that she was now a novice (*umkhwetsa*).

After that the old man with the pail reappeared but still said no word. The old woman explained that he was dumb. By this time the snake had recovered and Manyoni came out of the pool.

When she regained the bank she found herself in the midst of a large herd of cattle. She learnt later that they had been driven to the river by her husband who thought that she had been taken by *ichanti* (a legendary river snake believed to claim victims who can only be saved by driving cattle into the river). She explained it thus: "When the first beast entered the water it passed water, and after that all the cattle were forced to do so, so that the water was dirty and the snake could not see me." (The snake in the dream is almost certainly *ichanti*. For description see Hunter, *op. cit.* pp. 286-7. There appears to be some connection of *ichanti* with the ancestral spirits as the Baca say that a person who sees an *ichanti* will probably become an *izangoma* and, despite the danger, "the *amatfongo* show the *ichanti* to those whom they love".) The men with the cattle threw stones to drive away the snake and a woman put a black, shiny stone called *inyangeni* on her head to protect her (from the cattle). She walked away from the river with the cattle and entered the cattle kraal with them. In this case the beast that first passed water was earmarked for initiation ceremony (*inkomo yekhawu*).

THE WATER OF LIFE¹

AGATHE SCHMIDT *

SYNOPSIS

This article describes a female fertility rite performed at the end of December 1938 by the people of Bamessing village in the Bamenda division of the British Cameroons, West Africa. The master of the ceremonies was a male, Ndefun, and the leader of adolescent girls was a woman, Funwe. The object of the ceremony which no male other than Ndefun may attend, is to wash away in a stream issuing from the fertility shrine of Funbeko the guilt that keeps a woman barren. Barrenness is regarded as a consequence of adultery and to cleanse themselves barren women wash in this stream. To cleanse the young maidens so that they may bring to the Chief for his use uncontaminated water from this stream, they are also washed in this stream. This water is used internally and externally by the chief and is said to promote thereby the fertility of man and beast and crop.

An interesting fertility ceremony occurs once a year at Bamessing, a village which attends the Ndop Native Court in the Bamenda Division of the British Mandated Territory of the Cameroons. A year's residence here in 1938-39 for the purpose of studying the customs and more especially those of the women, gave me unrivalled opportunities. The ceremony to be described is called *MoWay* (water-child) and is concerned with the fertility of the people as a whole. As a woman, I was privileged to witness the entire ceremony – a privilege denied to any male and on these grounds it seemed to me worth while to report what I saw. This description can best open with a quotation from Talbot: "The most widely spread symbol is a clay pot, almost always containing water – the great fertilizing fluid of ancient belief." (1) So far as Africa is concerned this belief

has an Hamitic origin. "Water, as we have seen, has been regarded as a lifegiving agent from the time when the Nile was equated with the fluid of Osiris, and rain was thought to rejuvenate the earth as if by magic." (2) Other Hamitic traits appear in these African rites in that they are, as in ancient Egypt, connected with a Sun and Moon cult. "Orun, the Sun-god, and Oshu the Moon-god, sprang from Yemagya, together with the stars which have never been deified. Orun is no longer worshipped but Oshu still has votaries in northern Nigeria who conduct her rites by running water, where young trees of only one or two feet in height grow." (3)

Water as a fertilizing fluid still plays its ancient role in Africa and though in Talbot's book *Some Nigerian Fertility Cults* no mention is made of water, yet those who have read Mrs.

linguistic regions. It would seem therefore that such ceremonies have been acquired from a common, but as yet unknown, source.

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¹ In writing this article in English I had the assistance of Dr. M. D. W. Jeffreys, at that time Senior District Officer in charge, Bamenda Division. His private library was placed at my disposal because, working in the field, I had very few books with me. He drew my attention to the occurrence of similar ceremonies and practices in Nigeria as are indicated in the references quoted. It is thus clear that there exists a similarity of culture over a wide area and extending through different tribes and

Talbot's book on the *Mysteries of Women* will recollect the important part that the water of a sacred lake played in bestowing fertility on barren women. In the ceremony to be described hereafter water is definitely a fertilizing agent; though the clay pot is replaced by a virgin calabash. The washing in sacred water before a harvest festival such as this is, is found widely spread in Africa. Frazer remarks: "Before he ate of the new yams the king washed himself in fetish water brought from distant springs and the chief performed similar ablutions." (4)

At dusk on the 30th December, 1938, a party of the chief's sons (*ndɔ bun ntɔ*) playing musical instruments, set out to visit the house of the king's mother (*nchaa*.) Another party formed under Ndefun (a man who is the master of ceremonies, the chief's herald or guardian.) He, like the piper of Hamelin, played on a flute, made here from a calabash. The notes on this flute were the signal for some sixty young girls, all from the chief's lineage, to appear, escorted by a few of the chief's consorts and

some other women of the chief's family. The girls' ages ranged from six to fifteen years. Each brought a new and unused calabash. There were two officers who assisted in controlling these girls, namely a man and a woman. The woman's name was Funwe. Ndefun led these girls, not to the queen mother's place, but to the chief's palace into an inner court-yard known as *ɛfɔbu*. The girls normally wear only a single girdle (*nyün*) made of small circular black discs. For this occasion they wore three or more girdles. Their heads were shaved so as to leave a tonsure of about six inches in diameter. Then their heads were dyed with camwood. Nowhere else on the body was camwood allowed to be exhibited. In *ɛfɔbu* these small girls, the piper and the women escort, started a swaying dance. The chief with his principal consorts appeared officially and Funwe made obeisance to him and to his consorts on behalf of herself and her female charges. Funwe now started a song to which the young girls were a chorus. The song was as follows :

<i>ba xö Siä, bā wā ŋgu</i>	<i>o o ya o—o o ya o,</i>
we eat Siä, we sacrifice fowl,	<i>o o ya o—o o ya o,</i>
<i>Ma fun Kündä ya</i>	<i>o o ya o—o o ya o,</i>
king mother Kündä ya	<i>o o ya o—o o ya o,</i>

*Mbcfun*¹ *la bi so wua o yi rho*
Mbcfun speaks we purify our hands (by washing)

*Fun Cho*² *la bi so wua ɛ yi rho*
Fun Cho speaks we purify our hands (by washing)

*Ilcfun*³ *la bi so wua o yi rho*
Ilcfun speaks we purify our hands (by washing)
(the chorus continued to recall the names of old chiefs)

<i>mō Kay</i> ⁴ <i>mafun Tsō Munton</i>	<i>lō sin do, o yi rho, rho, sin do</i>
I swear by the king mother, mother of Munton	lo sin do, o yi rho, rho, sin do

<i>ma Kay boku bo nung nto</i>	<i>lō sin do o yi rho, rho, sin do</i>
I swear by the widows: they are in chief's compound.	lo sin do o yi rho, rho, sin do

(This song is repeated many times.)

bi biŋ ai yi rho ai yi rho ai
we are agreed. ai yi rho ai yi rho ai

¹ Name of the chief of this day.

² Name of a god.

³ Name of the first chief of Bamessing.

⁴ Name of an old chief.

bōfua bō n-nie-nnie

our belongings: multiply our animals.

mōlo nū a tōn-tōn

palmwine many calabashes of.

mō lua toŋ bō-nnie

I come, sent from the spirits.

ai yi rho ai yi rho ai

ai yi rho ai yi rho ai

ai yi rho ai yi rho

ai yi rho ai yi rho

ai yi rho ai yi rho ai

ai yi rho ai yi rho ai

The words in this chant are of great interest as they show that a vegetation fertility cult persists here. Thus, the word *Sia* is the name for the whole festival which should have commenced when the corn sprouted and have ended when it was ripe, i. e., in November, and thus have been in the nature of a Harvest Festival but was actually celebrated in December. In this *Sia* festival *Mo wuy* is the first ceremony. The present Bamessing people are migrants from the North and *Sia* is the name of the corn that their ancestors brought with them, i. e., guinea-corn or sorghum, not maize. However, only maize is now cultivated by the Bamessing. Among the Jukun tribes of the Benue the root of the word for guinea-corn is *za*.

It will be noticed that the chant begins when the chief appears and the opening words are, "we eat *Sia*." The identification of the king (chief) with the principal grain crop is not uncommon. Thus, among the Jukun a hundred miles or so north of Bamessing the king is addressed as: "You are our guinea-corn, our *jō* and our *aku* (i. e., the spirits and gods of our worship) . . . the slave selected (to accompany the dead Jukun king to the land of the dead) was known as Abunza, i. e., the attendant of the Corn" (5) while in ancient Egypt grain was regarded as the seed of Osiris. (6) After chanting that "we eat *Sia*", the next words are "we sacrifice a fowl". The explanation seems to be that here is an instance of a god, to be eaten by his followers and before he can be eaten he must die, and hence the propitiatory sacrifice of a fowl. If this interpretation is correct here is another instance of the custom of the "Dying God" described by Sir George Frazer in his *Golden Bough*. The king mother is addressed as *Kundu* and for this word no satisfactory translation was obtainable: it seems

to mean "ancient, old", i. e., so ancient as to be lost in time. *Kunda* also means, broken, derelict and hence ancient, old. Then comes the usual purification by washing, and the appeal to ancestral spirits and the request for increase and plenty.

The chief wore on this occasion a particular type of cap, not worn otherwise and distributed through his *chinda* (heralds) largesses of $\frac{1}{2}$ d. - 1d. to each of the women present. After some time the *ndō bun ntō* arrived from the queen mother's place. Up to now the young girls had occupied the centre of the stage, they had formed a crescent before the chief, but on the arrival of the *ndō bun ntō* they withdrew into a packed mass on the right leaving the space previously occupied by them to the *ndō bun ntō*. After playing a short while to the king, another largesse was handed out, of 1d. - 3d. to each musician. The chief then started a dance and created great enthusiasm and joy among his assembled subjects. It was now 11 p.m. and I had to leave, but dancing continued throughout the night. The sixty girls remained there under the care of the chief's consorts, as a protection against any sexual laxity.

The next morning, when I arrived, the young girls had gone home for food and to dress again. They returned about 9 o'clock and went into *tjōbu*, where each girl was sealed on her forehead with a white seal or mark of white clay, dabbed on by a *chinda*. A special water-pot from which only the chief's acolytes and women wash, was produced and each girl proceeded there and then to purify her hands by washing. Each girl was now given by a chief's consort a new calabash which the girl had brought the night before and which was now corked with a stopper of sacred leaves (*ŋku*). As is customary when carrying sacred loads, especially water, these calabashes were

placed on the shoulder and not on the head.¹ The girls were also provided with little sticks with which to scratch themselves should the need arise, so that their hands are not contaminated by coming in contact with the body.² Funwe now set out, followed by two of the chief's childless women with calabashes and the string of little girls; then followed three of the prospective brides of the chief. A group of chief's consorts without calabashes brought up the rear of the procession. All girls and women sang the songs from the evening before. The procession went to Ntu'kwe, the homestead of the founder of Bamessing. On the way a halt was made at a shrine sacred to the God, *Fun Nün*. His shrine is represented by a stone pillar. Everyone touched this stone.³ Ndefun led on, playing low notes on his flute, till the first stream was reached. Here the girls handed him and his assistant their calabashes into which were poured a little water.⁴ The women of the chief's family were sprinkled over their bosoms with water from a bunch of leaves dipped in the stream. From here the procession meandered to the compound of one of the chief's sons. The calabashes were carefully placed on one side, away from any chance traffic and a feast given to the party. A little dancing took place in token of thanks to the host. After eating and dancing the girls washed their hands before picking up their calabashes. In this way the procession visited two more streams and a waterfall, and water was poured into the cala-

bashes each time. Between each "water" resides a chief's son and a visit was paid to him, where likewise a dance and a feast were given. Finally the procession reached FunBeko, the main fertility shrine of Bamessing. FunBeko is supposed to reside in the flowing water.⁵ In his hands lies the gift of children and those who consult him hope that he may have compassion on them and grant them children. To him also a special sacrifice is made on behalf of a mother of twins, before she may resume farming operations. The shrine is located at the bottom of a deep ravine and before the face of a waterfall. The place is dark by reason of the forest trees that grow and shade the pool. There are two clearings, one a large one and the other, a small one near to the fall. All the females remained on the larger clearing, while Ndefun and his assistant went forward to the smaller one, and there made an oblation of palm oil and camwood. The females divided into groups, adults and young girls, and they sang again the songs they sang the day before in the chief's compound as well as songs peculiar to FunBeko. Some of the barren and childless women of the town now arrived and joined the party. The first to wade into the water up to her knees was the chief's childless consort, Tsenie, and Ndefun's assistant taking some powder (medicine) out of his bag and damping it in the water, placed some between her shoulder blades. The rest of the women were treated likewise. Funwe rubbed this powder so that the whole

¹ "He (the king's boy attendant) proceeds to the stream or well with a special jar which he must carry on his shoulders and not on his head, a rule which applies to all sacrificial foods. In the right hand he carried a stick, the symbol of his office and all who meet him on the road make way for him with averted eyes for the pot itself is regarded as sacred, and the water placed in it is holy water." Meek, C. K., *A Sudanese Kingdom*, London, 1931, p. 156.

² The statement that each girl is provided with a stick, so that she may use it to scratch her body is, I think, a rationalization and not a true explanation. The calabash is held by the hand but touches the body, e.g., the shoulder yet is not contaminated. The true explanation is, I think, to be found in the Jukun practice, quoted in the foot-note above, where the royal water-bearer carries a stick as a sign of his royal office and duty. So also here each girl, as a royal water-carrier, is provided with a badge of office, namely a stick.

³ At Oban there are two circles of unhewn stones,

each arranged round a "Juju-tree". Here mystic rites are performed, when the moon is at the full and on the rising of the new moon . . . Even the young girls partake of this feast. When all has been consumed they start a dance, which is only used on this occasion. The object of this ceremony is to ensure fruitfulness when the time comes for marriage. Talbot, P. A., *In the shadow of the Bush*, London, 1912, p. 10.

⁴ What has been said is sufficient to show that waters in Ashanti, some in a greater, others in a lesser, degree, are all looked upon as containing the power and spirit of the divine creator and thus as being a great life giving force. Rattray, R. S., *Ashanti*, Oxford, 1923, p. 146.

⁵ The use of flowing water, i.e., water of life as a fertility medium is widely spread, cf. a belief prevalent among the Mandaens. Their term for "baptism" is Masbuta, because with them the ceremony takes place in "living", i.e. flowing water. Budge Wallis, A. E., *Amulets and Superstitions*, Oxford, 1930, p. 240.

of the back of each woman was covered with it. Some fifteen women were thus treated. One of them drank the water before departing. The ceremony appeared to impress itself, not only on the women, but also upon Ndefun whose whole demeanour suggested an air of reverence and of piety. He had remarked to me as we were going down into the ravine: "Do you not feel that you are in the presence of God?"

My small boy, aged about sixteen years, bringing some food for me, arrived during this ceremony. Ndefun on seeing him, was much concerned and ordered him away because, as I have already pointed out, this ceremony is forbidden to the sight of males. None of the young girls went through the water-sprinkling-powder-rubbing-ceremony, they remained in a group singing with their calabashes on their shoulders. When the last barren woman had been through the ceremony the procession moved on, climbing up the opposite side of the ravine. On the top the adults changed their clothes and the girls removed all girdles save one. Ndefun and his assistant arrayed themselves in many folds of loin-clothes.

The next stage is held in the old market, now no longer used. Here a large crowd had assembled and the girls in a line moved with down-cast eyes while carrying their calabashes of water. They formed into line, shoulder to shoulder, and turning their backs on the crowd faced the dancers. Taking a side-ways pace each time, they sidled, crabwise across the market. The girls thus separated the spectators from the dancers, namely, the women from the chief's family. Here Nsan, one of the older consorts of the chief displaced Tsenie and her assistant and took charge while she danced and saluted Ndefun. The rest of the women danced on one side. The line of water-girls with slow mincing steps, took about ten minutes to pass straight through the market. From here the water-girls hastened their paces, and set off for the chief's compound.

I could see him standing some distance outside his place, and as the procession reached him, he snatched the first calabash of water, carried by Tsenie and hurried to his compound with it. I ran after him, having had his permission to

follow him. He went to his private apartments and drank hastily from this first calabash. A few drops of water of the remaining ones will be mixed daily in his water given to him for drinking and for washing his body.¹ The Chief's consorts now brought in the calabashes, while the girls of the party assembled outside where a bunch of plantains is distributed amongst them. The chief called up Ndefun, his assistant, and Funwe. These approached the chief with a deferential mien and bowed their bodies, while extending their open palms. The chief then breathed vigorously over these open hands and dismissed the men and the women. The water-girls also dispersed to their homes. The moon was now rising and as I had been on foot following the whole ceremony since 9 o'clock in the morning I felt it was time to depart.

The references in the footnotes have been concerned with single items in this Bamessing ceremony. I am however able to give from the Igbo a reference which approximates closely to this Bamessing ceremony. Meek writes: "The women then take water-lilies from the river, place them in a calabash of water, and return home singing: 'We are returning home in peace, bringing with us children, health and riches.' When they reach home they hand the calabashes to young men saying: 'Here are the children we brought. Drink this water - it is life giving water.' Some of the water may be given also to wives of the men of Akolochi in order to induce conception." (7)

One observation may be of interest. I found at Bali-Kumbat - a town three hours walk from Bamessing - a tradition that their king is killed after a reign of seven years, but I could find no such tradition in Bamessing. The absence of such a tradition may be due to this above described fertility ceremony. The fertility water brought to the chief, wherewith he anoints himself internally and externally may be regarded as annually renewing or restoring, both his fertility and that of his people, cattle and crops, so that the need

¹ "The divine Jukun king is awakened before sunrise by a special attendant. The king proceeds to the Ata Sai or bathroom and there washes himself scrupulously with water previously deposited by the attendant." Meek, C.K., *A Sudanese Kingdom*, London, 1933, p. 156.

to kill him after seven years on the grounds of a waning fertility has disappeared. On the other hand the Bali-Kumbat people are of Chamba stock whereas the Bamessing are not. At the beginning of this article attention was drawn to the possibility of a common, but as yet unknown, source for the Bamessing ceremony and other similar Nigerian ceremonies. Certain features in the Bamessing fertility ceremony show analogues with other world-wide ceremonies of a similar nature, namely a ceremony which has as its object purification and regeneration or rebirth by living (flowing) water, i. e., water of a god. The salient analogues in the Bamessing ritual were that members of the ceremony received a special mark, a white seal on their foreheads: that barren women come to be washed; that the washing occurred in water flowing from the main fertility god's shrine, FunBeko. The reason that the barren women came to be washed is not so much the idea that the water will mysteriously impregnate them, but that they will be cleansed of guilt and so be acceptable before their god for the gift of children.

Sterility in Bamessing women is attributed to adultery, i. e., to the cultural digression called "sin" amongst Christians. Such women are regarded as having incurred the displeasure or hostility of FunBeko who accordingly withholds children from them. In order to remove this ban two things are necessary, namely a ritual cleansing from "sin" by a ceremonial bath which in principle has the same significance as baptism in Christianity, i. e., a washing away of guilt or sin; and

secondly a propitiatory sacrifice. At Bamessing, as the washing takes place in the fluid (water) flowing from FunBeko, there occurs the Christian analogy of bathing in the fluid (blood) of the living God. There is also that sealing with a seal or mark on the forehead. (8) However, a more impressive correlation is found in the ritual practised by the Brahmans in India: "After an invocation to the sun, an oath was demanded of the aspirant to the effect of implicit obedience to superiors, purity of body, and inviolable secrecy. Water was then sprinkled over him . . . this was supposed to constitute the regeneration of the candidate . . . A peculiar cross was marked on his forehead . . . The Brahmans had also a mode of baptism similar to the Christian section of Baptists, the ceremony being performed in a river. The officiating Brahman priest . . . rubbed mud on the candidate and then plunged him three times into the water. During the process the priest said: 'Oh Supreme Lord, this man is impure, like the mud of the stream, but as water cleanses him from his dirt, do thou free him from his sin.' Rivers as sources of fertility and purification, were at an early date invested with a sacred character. Every great river was supposed to be permeated with the divine essence, and its waters held to cleanse from all moral guilt and contamination." (9)

Enough has been said to show that the ceremony described at Bamessing appears to be part of a widely diffused cult whose origin is at present unknown.

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NOTES ON THE POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF THE MADI OF UGANDA ¹

JOHN MIDDLETON *

SYNOPSIS

The Madi of northern Uganda and the southern Sudan are a Sudanic-speaking people and number 67,000. The settlement pattern is one of small joint family homesteads, grouped into sections and tribes, the latter being the largest indigenous political unit. Each tribe is associated with a dominant clan, which possesses a chief, opi. The chiefship is validated by mythically sanctioned rainmaking powers, which may, however, be "sold" to other groups.

Chiefs are political and ritual functionaries. They do not act alone but in association with subordinate opi: rainmakers, "chiefs of the fingernails" and chiefs concerned with property. The relationship between these chiefs is ideally and often in fact that of half-brothers, although this is not always the case and there may be lineages of "pretenders" as well as the recognized chiefly lineage. The ideal relationship of half-brothers means that there may be uterine kinship links between chiefs of different tribes.

The Madi, or more correctly Ma'di, are a Sudanic speaking people of Uganda and the Sudan. They are the most easterly of all the Sudanic speakers and are closely related to the Lugbara to their west. From the researches of Father Crazzolara and others it would seem that they have been in this area longer than the Nilotic speaking Acoli to their east and Alur to their south, and large numbers of them have been absorbed by these groups.² They themselves are to-day of very mixed origin, many of their clans and lineages being of Kakwa, Kuku, Fajelu, Lugbara, Bari, Acoli and other stock. They were seriously affected by the Arab slavers of the last century and a great deal of the intermixture dates from that time.

There are two main Madi groups, the northern and the southern Madi. The northern Madi occupy Madi Sub-district of Uganda (38,000 population) divided into the two counties of West Madi, on the high massif dominated by Mounts Nyiri and Otse to the west of the Nile, and East Madi on the flat country to the east of the river. They also live in the neighbouring areas of the Sudan, in the broken country between Kajo Kaji and Nimule and to the east of the Nile near Opari. The Sudan Madi total about 7,000 and include several small isolated groups. They are said by the Uganda Madi to be recent offshoots from Uganda. The southern Madi are known as Madi Aivu ("who have borne many

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¹ These notes are based on work done during a visit of only a few days to West Madi, from the neighbouring Lugbara. Since so little is known about this people they may be of some value, even though incomplete. The literature on the Madi is very scattered. It is summarized by P. T. W. Haxter and A. Butt, *The Azande and related peoples of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and the Belgian Congo*, London, 1953, which contains a bibliography. I have not made use of already published or written material in this article, which should be read

in conjunction with other accounts.

² The word *Ma'di* is found all over this area, there being groups of people so called in many parts of the south-west Sudan and north-east Congo. Many non-Sudanic speaking people refer to their Sudanic speaking neighbours as Madi, e.g., the Alur call Lugbara by that term. It seems frequently to be used to refer to either the indigenous occupants of a group's territory or to a group's easterly neighbours. Since many peoples in this area came from the north-west these usages are not inconsistent. See especially the Introduction to A. N. Tucker, *The Eastern Sudanic Languages*, Oxford, 1940, and L. F. Nalder, *A Tribal Survey of Mongalla Province*, Oxford, 1937.

people") and Madi Ndri ("goat Madi"). They live to the west of the Nile in Madi county of the West Nile District and number 22,000, mainly along the river, with off-shoots inland near Okolo. The Madi thus total some 67,000 people, and there are also small groups of Madi to the west among the southern Lugbara, near Logiri, and in Alur and Acoli country. Between the northern and southern Madi are several small enclaves of Kakwa and Kuku (Reli, Obongi, Gimara, etc). The whole of this area is ethnically extremely confused.¹

The Madi are not a homogeneous people, ethnically, culturally or linguistically. Besides the presence of many clans of non-Madi origin, some of which still speak their own languages as well as Madi, the pure Madi show considerable differences among themselves. The southern Madi especially are closely related to the Lugbara, and southern Madi and Low or Eastern Lugbara dialects are very alike and mutually intelligible. Both sections of Madi recognize the close connection between the two peoples. It is expressed by the concept of *onyu*, a certain sickness. The Lugbara are said by the Madi to be '*ba onyu nyapiri*', "people who eat *onyu*", while the Madi themselves are '*ba onyu nya ku piri*', "people who do not eat *onyu*". This division into people associated with *onyu* and those not so associated is made also by the Lugbara with reference to themselves. All Lugbara clans are known either as *Lu* ("people with *onyu*") or *Ma'di* ("those without *onyu*"), most of the *Ma'di* clans being in the east of their country, near the Madi proper. *Onyu* is translated by Lugbara as meaning either tuberculosis or a sickness of the head brought by certain flies (called *onyu*), and is the result of the breaking of taboos, especially those of mourning, which are different for the two divisions. The use of this concept to distinguish class is, as far as I know, unique to the Lugbara and Madi and is not found among their neighbours.² It is significant primarily in ritual contexts.

The Madi are predominantly agriculturalists, with eleusine as the staple. On the Nile fishing is important and there is much hunting in most areas. The density of population is everywhere comparatively low and there is no land shortage in even the most thickly populated areas near Moyo, in West Madi. The settlement pattern is one of large joint family homesteads. Each household, *e'i*, has a head, *e'idipi*, and the heads of small clusters of homesteads are known as *e'idrii* or *e'i amba*. Several of these groups form a single named political group based on a lineage, *kaka*. The head of the *kaka* is the genealogically senior *e'idrii*, but he seems to have had no very clear or specific duties in the traditional organization and there is no Madi term for him. To-day he is known as *sudubele*, which Madi claim to be an "Arabic" word (that is, it is from the Sudan) and has been given certain duties in the system of local government.

There are also the functionaries called *vudipi*, the "owners of the land". They are the heads of groups said to be indigenous, or at least to have been settled in an area before those clans which are now politically dominant entered it, and have a ritual relationship with the land. They have the power to control the wind - though not the rain - and have some control over pests which destroy crops. They must give permission for hunting and reparation must be made to them if human blood is spilt on the land. An area which is under the control of a single clan chief may be under the ritual care of more than one *vudipi*. My information as to the relationship between clan chief, *vudipi* and *e'idipi* is inadequate.

Madi is divided into about twenty-five large divisions, called *suru*;³ all are named (Moyo, Metu, Adrupele, Palorinya and so on, including some which are Kakwa in origin and of which the members still speak Kakwa). In the past fighting between component groups of a division would ultimately be settled by agreement, whereas fighting between units of different divisions could

(personal communication from Father Costermans, of Faradje).

³ The same word is used in a similar context in Lugbara.

¹ For the distribution of these small groups, see C. H. Stigand, *Equatoria, the Lado Enclave*, London, 1923.

² It may be found among the Keliko, to the west of Lugbara and closely related to them. It is not found among the Logo, further to the west and also related



AREA OCCUPIED BY MADI SHOWN BY DOTTED LINE

not be so settled and a permanent state of feud might exist. Following comparative usage, I speak of them as tribal areas occupied by tribes. A tribe is associated with a dominant clan, also called *suru* and having the name which is by extension given to the tribe and its territory (Metu, Adrupele, etc.). A clan is under the authority of a chief, *opi*. The tribe includes both dominant and accessory groups, the chief being head of the dominant group and having political and ritual authority over both. This dominance is validated by myth, usually that its founding ancestor had first control of the area or conquered an earlier group and so acquired such control, and by the possession of rainstones inherited from the founding ancestor. Accessory groups have no rainstones inherited from their own founding ancestors.

The members of a chief's dominant clan – or at least those who are resident in the area – are known as *opii*, a collective form of *opi*. Accessory groups are known as *laki*. Some groups are also known as *opigo*, clients or war-captives, and are in a ritually and politically subservient position to their original hosts or captors, who may be either dominant or accessory groups. *Opii* are considered socially superior to all *laki* and higher bride-wealth is given for *opii* girls; although intermarriage takes place freely it is still thought best that *opii* should marry amongst themselves, both within and beyond the tribe. *Opii* have certain duties to perform as part of their status; the most important seems to be that of providing men to bury the chief.

A clan consists of several lineages, *kaka*,¹ which are usually defined by Madi as consisting of the people of one grandfather. *Kaka* refers both to an agnatic lineage of three or four generations and to the residential cluster of people based upon it. The *kaka* is exogamous, the *suru* not. Lineages do not form a polysegmentary system of lineages; as soon as a lineage becomes large it splits into new lineages and loses its former identity, although the former agnatic tie between

the new segments is remembered for a time. Clans and lineages have specific names, but when a lineage splits its original name falls out of use. It would seem that it is mainly dominant clans that consist of more than a very few co-ordinate lineages. Attached to a dominant clan there may be both accessory clans and accessory lineages. Accessory clans are former accessory lineages which have increased in size and become territorially distinct and autonomous to a greater extent than are accessory lineages, which are small groups and subsumed territorially under their host groups. These lineages cannot intermarry with their hosts, but when they become accessory clans they can do so.

An example of a tribe is that of Metu, in the centre of West Madi county. Metu may be atypical in some respects, since it is thickly populated by Madi standards, although there is no shortage of land; it has also been disturbed by Government action in connection with sleeping sickness. It has a total population of some 5,000 people, and consists of two areas, Metuli (Lower Metu) and Meturu (Upper Metu). Metuli is the traditionally occupied area, near Mount Nyiri, and contains the sacred grove of the chiefs of Metu. To-day, due to Government order in the 1920 s, most of the population lives in Meturu, some six miles away. Clan and lineage areas in Metuli are remembered and the close kin of the chief live there still. The *opii* of Metu are the clan called Pamujo, the "descendants of Mujo", the first chief to settle in Metuli after the traditional move from Amadi in the Sudan, where Metu had been the clan founder. Pamujo is one *suru* and consists of eight lineages, of which four are accessory. There are five other clans in Metu, all accessory, of which two have recently (since 1880) immigrated from the Sudan (as lineages which have now increased and become *suru*). The other three include one autochthonous group and two, Pamo and Pameri, which are the *opigo* of Pamujo. The *opigo* link has mythical validation. Meri, the founder of Pameri, floated down the Nile from Madi Aivu on a papyrus island and was made *opigo* by Metu himself. Moi was put by Metu (who was then in Metuli)

¹ The same word is used for a descent group in Acoli, Alur, Bari and Mandari, among other peoples; it is not found in Lugbara.

in Meturu to act as his representative and was given rainmaking powers. Pamoi still has important ritual duties in connection with the chiefly rites. Both Pamoi and Pameri have rainmakers, but no chiefs.

To-day chiefs are recognized by the Government – among the Uganda Madi at any rate – and are given administrative authority. They are mostly chiefs of sub-counties and known as *wakil* or *joago* (the former an Arabic and the latter an Acoli term). The term *opi* is used by the Government to refer only to chiefs of counties, units brought into being by the Government and not indigenous. Traditionally, and still to-day as far as the Madi themselves are concerned, the chiefship is divided among four functionaries. These are the *opi* proper, the *opi ei dri* (chief of the rain), the *opi cukua dri* (chief of the finger nails), and the *opi keri dri* (chief of the *keri*, a word used in no other context, so far as I know). I refer to the *opi* proper only as the chief, and to the other three *opi* as associate chiefs. I keep the word *opi* to refer to all of them as a category.

They have different functions. The chief "leads the *laki*". He has general political and ritual authority over the members of his tribal territory, both dominant and accessory groups, and in particular has personal authority over his own lineage and clan, whose members are *opii*. The ancestors of ordinary people are remembered for only a few generations, and the ghosts (*ori*) in their shrines rarely comprise more than eight or nine generations. But the ghosts of chiefs (*opi-ori*) may comprise up to twelve or thirteen generations. The chief's authority is based primarily on his descent from the founding ancestor of the dominant clan, the ancestor who acquired the clan's rainstones, and on the power of his ghosts to bring sickness upon any member of the community who disobeys him in his official capacity. His traditional duties include the stopping of fighting within his tribe, leading in war against other tribes, attending certain rituals within his tribal area, giving permission for the sowing and

harvesting of crops and controlling the first-fruits offering to *Rubanga*, God. When undertaking these duties he should properly carry his staff of office (*opi-oto*); when he is bearing this any disobedience to him is said to result in his ghosts' bringing sickness upon the offender.¹ The cause of sickness is found by the diviner (*ojou*) and sickness relieved by the chief sacrificing an ox and grain, provided by the victim's family, to his chiefly ghosts at a rite known as *opi-amu*.

Chiefs are buried in a special sacred grove, *opi-rudu*.² There is one grove for each tribe. These groves are sacred places and may be entered by no one but a chief, those taking part in his burial or assisting at ritual at which he plays a controlling role. They may not be burnt during grass firing, nor may firewood be collected from them. An offence of this kind must be redeemed by the killing of an ox or ram and the sprinkling of the grove with its blood by the chief. In the grove are kept the clan's rainstones, the chief's staff and his ancestors' finger nails in special pots. Some of these objects may also be kept elsewhere – the rainstones in or near the rainmaker's hut, the staff in the chief's hut – but the grove is their proper place. It is the site for the sacrifice of an ox or ram at rainmaking rites.

The chief can traditionally ask for any live-stock he wishes from his subjects, although they must be used in connection with his official status. They are used for ritual purposes, for sacrifice to the *opi-ori*, to God or at rain ceremonies, or for his bridewealth. He is said to be able to marry any girl he chooses, even if she lives in the area of another chief, and it is said that chiefs supply girls to one another. The chief may also marry sisters, although it is "not really marrying". A sister goes with the new wife of a chief at her marriage, and should she conceive by him he may marry her "to avoid shame". But ordinary people cannot do this without the wife divorcing them. Madi practise the sororate but the first wife must be dead before her place is taken by her sister. It is only chiefs who can marry two

¹ I do not know whether the ghosts act on their own account or whether the chief must first invoke them: the latter process is found among the Lugbara – a rain-

maker-chief can invoke his ghosts against evildoers.

² *Rudu* is used for certain other shrines also.

sisters at the same time. A chief has the right to the skin of any leopard and a tusk of any elephant killed, and a haunch from every wild beast slain in a hunt in his territory, for which his permission as well as that of the *vudipi* is necessary.

The chief has these duties to perform as part of his role as chief. He does not perform them alone, but should do so in the company and with the assistance of his associate chiefs. The rainmaker, *opi ei dri*, must always be present but the attendance of the other two is not so important. The chief supervises the various rituals, the actual killing and division of the sacrificial animals being done by the associate chiefs. These associates and other assistants of the chief are known collectively as *opi a bi* or *urule*, the latter said to be an "Arabic" word. *Opi a bi* are brothers or close agnates of the chief, always from his own *opii*. Besides the three associate chiefs they include messengers, whose primary duties are to act as intermediaries between the chief and his subjects, who can only approach him in his official role through a messenger. They also keep the chief informed of the whereabouts of oxen and rams which he can demand as sacrificial or bride-wealth animals as he needs them.

The *opi ei dri* is the rainmaker. He is concerned with the custody and use of the rainstones, *ei kwe* ("rain sticks") which are kept in a special pot in the sacred grove or may be kept in a pot in the rainmaker's own hut. They are small finger-size cylindrical stones of quartz.¹ At the rainmaking ceremony, properly held in the sacred grove, all four *opi* and the heads of component lineages of the clan attend. They eat beans without salt and eleusine, and wash the stones in fat and in the water of the pot in which they are kept. The rainmaker eats last, washes the stones last and leaves the grove last. Madi say that once there were only as many rainmakers as there were chiefs, and that chiefs and rainmakers were always brothers. But by now the rainmakers have often "sold" rainmaking power to other men so that there are

many independent rainmakers. It is only the power that is sold – the actual quartz stones are not uncommon. These independent rainmakers are all called *opi ei dri* and may appoint their own brothers as their associates – *opi cukua dri* and *opi keri dri* – but they have no *opi* proper, chiefs, of whom they are associates. The lineages or clans of independent rainmakers have no superior political status. A man can acquire rainmaking power only from the rainmaker of the dominant clan of his tribe. He is then regarded as being in the relationship of "sister's son" to the original rainmaker. The price for the transfer of the power is five cattle, and Madi state that this is because it is the bridewealth for a girl of an *opii* lineage, higher than for non-*opii* girls. By the transfer of five cattle such groups are thus in a pseudo-affinal relationship, which in the next generation becomes one of mother's brother-sister's son. The groups in Metu called Pamoi and Pameri are in this position, their rainmakers being descended from original clients of Metu, the clan founder. He gave them the power of rainmaking and they are said to be "like sisters' sons" to Pamujo, the dominant clan of *opii*. Typically, of course, an ordinary *opigo*, client, may be given a wife by his host: he is then an affine and his children are sisters' sons to his host's lineage. The transfer of rainmaking powers would seem to effect something of the same relationship between dominant and certain accessory groups at the political level.

The other associate chiefs are of much less importance, and are together called *opi anzi*, "chief children" or "little chiefs". The *opi cukua dri*, finger nail chief, is responsible for the custody of former chiefs' finger nails, kept in a special pot in the sacred grove. He cuts them from the body of a dead chief just before the burial. They are used in the rite of sacrifice to the chiefly ghosts, *opi-ori*. The *opi keri dri*, the last associate chief, is responsible for the collection and distribution of tribute given to the chief, the collection of first-fruits from all the households of the tribe before the first-fruits ceremony, the giving of hospitality on the chief's behalf, the collection of livestock for ritual and bridewealth purposes and similar duties. Madi compare his work to that

¹ There is a good deal of published material on Madi rainmaking. See especially E. H. Rogers, "Notes on some Madi rainstones" in *Man*, XXVII, 1927, pp. 81-7.

f a "*lokultai*"¹ the caretaker of modern Government rest-camps.

The relationship of the *opi* is ideally that of half-brothers. The first son of a chief by his first wife should be his successor as chief, *opi*.² The first son of the second wife should be the rainmaker chief, the first son of the third wife the chief of the finger nails, and the first son of the fourth wife the chief of the *keri*. This is the ideal situation, although it is not always found. If a chief dies his successor should be the first son of the first wife, unless he is a child; in this case a brother succeeds, either a full or a half brother. The genealogy of the chiefs of Metu show that in the last few generations two sisters' sons have succeeded. Nevertheless Madi state that it should be the first son and that ideally succession should be in the senior agnatic line from the clan founder. It would seem that if there are no sons a sister's son is preferable to an agnate of a collateral line of descent, even though of the same dominant clan. Like the Lugbara, Madi consider a sister's son to be a very close kinsman by blood, *ari*. If therefore the chiefly power passes only in a single senior line of descent a sister's son is closer than, say, a father's father's brother's son's son. This is also the situation found in the rainmaker lineages of the northern Lugbara: only the senior line of descent is eligible, but this may pass through women.

The associate chiefs of the late chief assist his successor. On the death of a rainmaker, *opi* *dri*, the successor to that office is chosen on grounds of personal character from between his senior son and the first son of the late chief's second wife. The latter is the ideal, since the new rainmaker is then again the half-brother of the chief. Successors to the other associate chiefships are chosen similarly. From what was told me of the past history of the chiefs of Metu it would

seem that selection, although said to be largely on personal grounds, is probably determined by faction and lineage fission within the ranks of the *opii*, the chief's clansmen, and it may be that this is one way in which it has come about that there are more rainmakers than chiefs. If the son of a rainmaker succeeds his father, instead of the ideal succession of the rainmaker's elder half-brother's son, the latter becomes the "pretender" to the rainmaker's office. It is easy to see that in this way two lines of rainmakers attached to a chiefly clan may come into existence, and the position later validated by a myth of rainmaking power having been purchased. The chief is a political figure in a way that the rainmaker is not, so that although there cannot be more than one chief in a tribe of which he is the political head, there would seem to be no reason for there not being several rainmakers, although even then only one is a "real" rainmaker, the others being "like sisters' sons". They are all, of course, called *opi*, and only specific inquiry elicits their true status: thus in Metu there are three groups with *opi*, of which only one, Pamujo, has a true chief.³

If a chief dies without a suitable adult son he may be succeeded by a brother, as I have said. This brother has been a rainmaker associate of the dead chief. He becomes the chief and in turn the second associate becomes rainmaker, the third associate becomes finger nail chief and a fifth brother of that generation becomes chief of the *keri*. This has certainly occurred more than once in recent times. In this case there may also be pretenders to the *opi*-ships. Madi cannot say what are the theoretical rules of succession in the following generation if succession to an *opi*-ship has gone to a half-brother and not to the eldest son. As I have suggested, it is probable that succession in any given case is determined by structural factors of the moment, and any theoretical

¹ Apparently a corruption of the French *locataire*, used by the Congo administration.

² Madi usually count the first-born son as the senior, irrespective of whether the mother is the first married wife. But the rule is different in the context of succession to the chiefship.

³ It is said to-day that many chiefs perform the duties of rainmaker themselves. It may be significant in this context that the Government has given the office of chief greater importance than the other offices. In an

unpublished MS, "Tribal organization among the Madi", Mr. F. R. J. Williams, a former Assistant District Commissioner, Madi, states that of fifty-three *opi* who can now be distinguished as heads of separate clans, twenty six keep the rainstones themselves, sixteen have separate rainmakers and the remainder rely on rainmakers of other clans. I do not know the criteria by which Mr. Williams selected the fifty-three *opi*, and my own knowledge is limited to Metu, which is atypical of Madi as a whole in certain respects.

rules of succession would have little validity. It may perhaps be assumed that pretenders to the chiefship itself do not, in any case, exist for very long. Their descendants cease to have claims, since they will no longer be members of the senior descent line. As among the neighbouring Lugbara, the genealogies of *opi* are used to validate the existing situation by giving the line of the actual *opi* at a given moment as the senior line, whatever may have been the historically correct facts, so that in any case pretenders' descendants have no genealogical justification for claims.

The patterns of relationships between chiefs are of considerable structural importance, although in the short time at my disposal it was not possible to gather much information. If *opii* may marry with other *opii*, of other tribes, then the wives of

a chief tend to come from other tribes. The arrangement of half-brother *opi* would then provide an elaborate web of matrilinear ties between associate chiefs of different tribes, since their mothers would be of different tribal origin. Although there was never a paramount chief of Madi, nor even of any of the main sections of the people, there may be some politically significant intertribal system of which the links are provided by the affinal and matrilinear ties of *opi*. These links would seem to have been of some importance in the past, according to the stories told of the past chiefs of the Madi who organized resistance to the first Europeans to enter their country. But the position is uncertain and further investigation is needed.

A FRAGMENT ON XHOSA RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

CHARLES BROWNLEE

SYNOPSIS

The following is a copy of a manuscript in the possession of the Rev. Joseph McCracken of Alice. It is evidently a memorandum of answers to certain questions put to Charles Brownlee, regarding Xhosa beliefs and customs, by someone acquainted with Zulu custom. It was probably written over seventy years ago. Brownlee died in 1890. He refers to Callaway's Unkulunkulu, which was published in full in 1870. So he wrote this between those dates.

Regarding the Hon. Charles Brownlee, C. M. G., I am indebted to Dr. R. H. W. Shepherd of Lovedale for the following notes:

"Born at 'Chumie' Mission Station in 1821.

"Died on 16th August, 1890, in King William's Town.

"First Secretary of Native Affairs in Cape Colony.

"Present at opening service of Lovedale Institution on 21st July 1841.

"Throughout life a warm friend of missionaries.

"In 1887 he conferred on John Bennie the title of 'The Father of Kafir Literature'.

"In 1853 he was appointed to reside with the Xhosa and neighbouring tribes, and to exercise control over them.

"He opposed the plans for the Cattle-killing in 1857. When he heard of them he said, 'Naphakade', and this became his Native name.

"He and his wife succoured the victims of the Nongqawuse affair. (This is commemorated in a memorial window in the Presbyterian Church, King William's Town.)

"He was a member of the Xhosa Bible Revision Board, appointed after the publication of Appleyard's Version in 1864. Other members were A. Kropf, J. W. Appleyard, Tiyo Soga and Bryce Ross.

"He was a member of the Commission of Native Laws and Customs, 1883."

I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to the Rev. J. J. R. Jolobe, B.A. for assistance with some of the Xhosa references in this "Fragment". As was common in Brownlee's time, the Xhosa were referred to as the "Kafirs". I have retained Brownlee's spelling, both of English text and Xhosa words, as well as his lack of punctuation; but in the footnotes, and in quoting from Kropf's dictionary, I have put the Xhosa into the accepted orthography.

C. M. DOKE

[1]* I am unable to say what specific idea the Kafirs had of a Supreme Being underived from Christianity, there can however be no doubt that they had some ideas of Him though vague and indefinite in the extreme.

Before missionaries entered Kaffraria the

* Square brackets indicate an omission from the MS.

¹ i.e. *uQamatha*: still recognized as a word for God, though not used to-day, except in phrases of adjuration.

² *Ndabona ukuba uQamatha ukho*: I see that God is

natives called the Supreme Being *Qamata*¹ and I have heard an old man on escaping from serious danger say *Ndabona ukuba uQamata uko*.² This expression appeared to imply – that though it was said *Qamata* existed it was rather a doubtful point³ – but his intervention to save proved present; or, I see that there is a God.

³ It is questionable whether this is the implication; the phrase may merely attribute the escape to intervention by God.

his existence. In cases of serious and dangerous illness on enquiry regarding the state of the patient I have heard them imply - Seku koku ka-Qamata.¹

No doubt the Kafirs held the idea - that each nation or country had its own supreme being as the Zulus and cognate tribes hold of Nkulunkulu.²

The first converts to Christianity were Ronaqua³ or Gona⁴ Hottentots, they were the first interpreters to the missionaries and in speaking of God they called him Tixua or Tixwaub which was turned by the Kafirs into Tixo⁵ - and no doubt they held that the Tixo who was preached to them by the missionaries was the God of the missionaries and separate and distinct from Qamata the god of the Kafirs hence the adoption of the name Tixo.

The Supreme Being is often designated as Izulu⁶ thus in cases of death by lightning - the natives do not say so and so was killed by lightning, but Watatyatwa lizulu; ⁷ in such cases the usual mourning for death does not take place for it is said heaven has taken its own, it is therefore wrong to murmur or complain but sacrifices are offered and a dance may take place to propitiate the Zulu.

No case of a whole burnt offering has come under my observation but I am told that Qatsi Gaikas⁸ great doctor who acted as priest rain maker and witch doctor occasionally sacrificed an animal the whole of which was burnt the people of the surrounding villages furnishing the fuel, this sacrifice was to propitiate the Supreme Being and not the ancestral spirits.

¹ *Sekukokuka-Qamatha*: It is now a matter for God; i.e. It is now up to Him to act.

² i.e. *uNkulunkulu*, the term used by Zulu Christians to designate God; lit. the Great-great One.

³ The symbol *r* was used in Xhosa to indicate the unvoiced velar fricative (phonetic *x*). This refers to the Gqonakwa or Gqona people (phonetic *lgona*), the Eastern section of Hottentots, who lived in contact with the Xhosa in the present Eastern Cape Province. The suffix *-kwa* in Hottentot is a plural, here indicating people, cf. Nama-kwa.

⁴ Brownlee's writing is not clear in this word, but I read the initial as "G".

⁵ i.e. *uThixo*, now the fully recognized Xhosa word for God.

⁶ i.e. sky, heaven; a term used in reference to weather and phenomena of the heavens.

I take it also that the burial of the animals killed by lightning is of the nature of a whole offering, and probably the reason why they are not burnt is that the fire of heaven has already been on them.

In the case therefore of the whole burnt offering, and the ceremonies in connection with death by lightning there is a distinct recognition of a Supreme Being.

There is no public teaching regarding spiritual matters. Whatever opinions are held regarding the supernatural are held by the initiated few (*abatwasileyo*)⁹ as mysteries while the masses have only the vague ideas communicated in the oracular statements of the initiated when they consulted, and as the initiated ones have received their information from their predecessors and frequently add to it, what they assert is communicated in visions to them as in the cases of Ixle, Umlunjeni and Umhlakaza¹⁰ it is quite natural that the people should wander farther and farther from the light which they may at some former period have had.

2. I do not think that the Natal natives attribute supernatural powers to a chief during his lifetime though in their *izibongo*¹¹ with true oriental flattery they ascribe supernatural attributes to him. After the death of the chief however his spirit is supposed to take the same relative position to the spirit world that he occupied in the flesh among his own people and as he is then invoked in tribal matters whereas other spirits are invoked only in private or family matters, the spirit of the chief is regarded as supreme,

⁷ *Wathatyathwa lizulu*: He was taken by Heaven.

⁸ Punctuation would make this clearer: Qatsi, Gaika's great doctor. Gaika was the paramount Xhosa chief, residing in the Tyumie area, during the governorship of the "Cape" by Lord Charles Somerset, and the Kafir wars of 1813-1819.

⁹ i.e. *abatwasileyo*, from the verb *-thwasa*, go through the period of initiation as a "doctor". See note 3, *passim*.

¹⁰ i.e. *uNxle*, *uMlanjeni* and *uMhlakaza*. These were leaders of uprisings. Nxle, otherwise called Makana, led the Xhosa attack on Grahamstown in 1819. Mlanjeni led the war of 1850, which was named after him. Mhlakaza was uncle and guardian of the girl Nongqause, who inspired the cattle-killing of 1857.

¹¹ i.e. *izibongo*, praise phrases or praise poems in honour of chiefs and important personages.

thus in 1838 when Dingaan¹ sent an expedition against Moselekatsi,² and great anxiety existed regarding the safety of the army which had not been heard of for two months, Dingaan left Umgungundlovu his capital and went to Nobamba where his father was buried and there at his fathers grave offered daily sacrifices of cattle to ensure the safety of the army which soon after returned with great spoil.

3. Animals which are supposed to possess supernatural powers do not possess these powers except through the agency of man. Some families may possess an hereditary baboon, for witchcraft like ukutwasa³ may be hereditary. The evil action of the animal agent is influenced or caused by his human masters who may either by contact or conversation direct what the agent is to do, or he may simply will from a distance what the agent is to do and it is done. How this influence is communicated to the agent no one can tell, and if in reasoning with a native the absurdity of the thing is pointed out he simply replies that in the Christian religion there are matters quite as incomprehensible and mysterious as the views the native holds.

The elephant is the only animal in which some sort of divinity or supernatural power is supposed to exist and to avert evil consequences the hunters

before casting their spears at him said taru nkosi. Other animals such as baboons are not supposed of themselves to have supernatural powers but are simply inspired by their owners. The apocryphal Canti,⁵ Imbulu⁶ and Impundulu⁷ are endowed with supernatural powers which they exercise without the agency of man, but they also may be used as agents by wicked men.

4. I cannot say what is the derivation of the word iminyanya,⁸ unless it is derived from ukuti nya that is to disappear to become invisible. I forget now whether ukuti nya or ukunyamalala⁹ is Kafir as well as Zulu. Shwaka¹⁰ is the Kafir equivalent.

Umshologu¹¹ is not a Zulu word the Zulus have izitunzela¹² and Izituta¹³ (not izitata as Isaacs says) and there is still another name that I do not now remember.

5. No native has been able to tell me the origin of Sivivane¹⁴ so far as my memory serves me they are also to be found in Zululand. The vague idea regarding them is that there is a supernatural or spiritual power existent or resident in the Sivivane, how or when it came there or what spirit it is no one knows, but anyone in passing casts another stone on the cairn with this short prayer etc amandla Sivivane.¹⁵

6. The word Utixo was not known among the

cestor, and with which they can work harm on others."

⁸ *iminyanya*: Of *umnyanya*, the singular, Kropf & Godfrey record: "Departed ancestor of a chief, who was believed to appear to men, especially to witchdoctors when commencing practice. When a chief went to war, he was greeted: *iminyanya mayikukhangele*, May your departed ancestors have an eye upon you, i.e. protect you!" Brownlee is probably correct in connecting this with *ukuthi nya*.

⁹ *ukuthi nya*: *nya* is an ideophone found in both Xhosa and Zulu; but the verb *-nyamalala* (vanish, disappear) is used only in Zulu.

¹⁰ *shwaka*: a Xhosa ideophone indicating sudden disappearance.

¹¹ *umshologu*: the disembodied ghost of a deceased person.

¹² singular *isithunzela*: used in Xhosa for a "shade" or apparition of a deceased person in his original form.

¹³ singular *isithutha*: an ancestral spirit, a departed spirit, a term synonymous with *ithongo*.

¹⁴ *isivivane*: a term used in both Xhosa and Zulu. Of this Kropf & Godfrey record: "A heap of stones thrown together by travellers at certain steep and dangerous passes on a difficult, tiring journey, a small stone being added by every passer by, who says, *Thixo ndincede*, God help me; or *siphe amandla*, give us strength."

¹⁵ i.e. *Ethe amandla, Sivivane*: Bring strength, O Cairn!

¹ i.e. uDingane, successor to the Zulu king, uShaka.

² i.e. uMzilikazi, a general under Shaka, who rebelled against him, and left Zululand with his army, ultimately founding the Ndebele tribe in Southern Rhodesia. Moselekatsi is the spelling of the Tswana pronunciation of his name.

³ *ukuthwasa*: Kropf & Godfrey's Kafir-English Dictionary (1915) has under this head: "To go through the process of being made a witchdoctor; the novice is summoned by the *imishologu* in a dream to enter on his calling; he then goes to the river and keeps out of sight for about two weeks, after which he returns to the kraal; he is not ready to begin practising till he has been instructed by an *isanuse*."

⁴ i.e. Taru, Nkosi! Have mercy, chief! or, Excuse me, chief!

⁵ i.e. *ichanti*, a fabulous water-sprite or river-snake.

⁶ *imbulu*: McLaren explains this as "a fabulous tailed dwarf; a hobgoblin". The same term is used in Zulu of a "fabulous lizard, a term used in folk-lore for a deceiving creature". It is also used for a tree iguana or monitor in Zulu.

⁷ *impundulu*: the lightning bird. Of this, Kropf & Godfrey write: "According to Kafir superstition, a bird (*intak'ezulu*) which sets its fat on fire and sends it down as lightning; others say it is a ghost with a cow's head. Certain people are believed to have an *impundulu* which they have received from an an-

Zulus 45 years since, their ideas of a Supreme Being you will find from the books published by the Bishop of St. Johns in the first of the series.¹

7. Sacrifices among the natives are chiefly of a propitiatory and expiatory nature and are chiefly offered to the ancestral spirits with the view of averting or removing trouble and calamity. Occasionally a freewill offering as an expression of gratitude for prosperity is offered by a man to the spirits of his ancestors, the more common way however is when a priest is consulted in trouble and he directs a sacrifice as the spirits are hungry, that is their descendant has neglected them and has incurred their displeasure. When the sacrifice is made the flesh is piled up in the hut for a night when the offended spirit comes and smells and is satisfied, and he is further satisfied when he comes into the ascending smoke of the bones and fat which are burned.

I do not know the meaning of Camagu² *cosi*³ *camagushe*.⁴ I take these to be priests' words or formularies and are a prayer. I take it that Camagu may be somewhat like Taru and *cosi*, may be equivalent to be appeased, and like the

¹ Henry Callaway's "Unkulunkulu, or The Tradition of Creation as existing among the Amazulu and other Tribes of South Africa", being the first part published of his commonly known *Religious System of the Amazulu*, 1870.

² Regarding *Camagu!* Kropf wrote at considerable length in 1899, as follows:

"*Makube-Camagu!* be appeased or pacified! be propitious! This is a religious word, though like our own terms its use is not restricted to religion.

"1. It is addressed to one afflicted with severe illness, the affliction being supposed to be sent by his ancestors in displeasure with something done or left undone, especially the latter. People entering his hut exclaim: '*Camagu! makube-hele! makube-chosi! mayikukhangele iminyanya yakowenu neyamats'have*.' i.e. 'let there be propitiousness! let there be clemency or alleviation! let the departed of your people and your chiefs look upon you!' In extreme cases they add '*no-Qamatha makakukhangele*', 'let Qamata also look upon you'. Some say '*Tay*', and others say '*Thixo*', instead of '*Qamatha*'. When the three words mentioned here are used in regard to the sick, they amount to a prayer for the sick with the view of obtaining recovery.

"2. It is addressed to an officiating wizard. They exclaim: '*Camagu geza!*' 'be appeased or propitious, frenzied one!' In this case we would say in English 'I beg your pardon', or 'bear with me', because it is used when searching or unpleasant questions are about to be put to his wizardship.

"3. In trying to conciliate a displeased chief, they exclaim: '*Camanga, mhle! akuhlanga (nto) ingehlanga!*' or '*luto or lubi! lungehlanga*, i.e. be pacified, beautiful one; nothing or no evil happens (to you) that has not

Zulu *tutuka*⁵ the meaning of which will be apparent to you⁶. I have heard a priest that is doctor and who offers sacrifice called *Icamagu*⁷ this is in distinction from *Isanusi*⁸ or other kinds of doctors.

Among the Zulus, doctors of all kinds are called *izinyanga* and to treat as a doctor is *ukunyanga*, thus you see what idea the Kafirs had of the system. In regard to sacrifices it is also noteworthy that *ukubingelela*⁹ among the Zulus means to salute, while I think they have no special word to designate a sacrifice, but apply the same word to sacrificing as to ordinary slaughtering.

8. *Taruni*¹⁰ at a funeral I take to be a most appropriate prayer for a Kafir. The word which has no equivalent in English is a prayer primarily offered in war to one who is about to strike down another. To the spirits who have laid low a relation it is natural that the survivors should say, be appeased, have mercy, spare our lives, for the word conveys any of these meanings.

The prayer offered at the grave though apparently addressed to the corpse is clearly addressed to the lately disembodied spirit, for no one could say to the corpse, *sikangele wena usembonisweni*,¹¹

happened (to others before you). In common language *camagu!* is the same as *taru!*"

³ Kropf comments as follows: "*Chosi!* used when sneezing but not confined to it; *makube chosi!* let there be comfort! Mothers use it when a child is ill or when it cries; evidently they use it as we use 'hush' only with them it is a prayer; *lentyantambo inuka chosi*, this flower smells sweetly, is of recent usage; *chos'ube-kho!* is used when one, whom we wish to see, unexpectedly arrives."

⁴ The verbs *camagusha* and *camagushela* are commonly used for "propitiate, appease the ancestors by sacrifice." The use of the whole phrase seems to indicate that sacrifice has been made to appease the ancestral spirits.

⁵ i.e. *thuthuka*: This means in Zulu to become prosperous; and is used as an invocation after sneezing, as is *chosi* in Xhosa.

⁶ The author of the questions evidently knows the Zulu beliefs and usages.

⁷ *Icamagu*: "a witch-doctor officiating at a propitiatory sacrifice; a mediator" (Kropf).

⁸ In Zulu *isanusi*, diviner; one who smells out (*nuka*) witches, etc.

⁹ In Xhosa *ukubingelela* means "to slaughter and offer for a child at its birth, on the day the mother ceases lying-in, which is done by the father or a man of the village, not by the priest-doctor." (Kropf).

¹⁰ *Taruni* is the plural of *taru*. See note 4, p. 39.

¹¹ *Sikhangele wena usembonisweni*: Look on us from your vantage point above; lit. you being where you can see from above. In Zulu *imboniso* is a point of vantage from which to view, for instance, an enemy. Present-day Xhosa would use *imboniselo*.

for this refers to something exalted and overlooking those below. Though the natives regard the spirits of their ancestors as being among them and on earth this prayer clearly indicates that at some past time they were above that is in heaven, (*embonisweni*) where they could overlook what was passing below. *Enyangweni*¹ is also used. While among the Kafirs it means an exalted position or heaven, amongst the Zulus, the word denotes a hut erected on high posts used as a receptacle for the shields of the warriors.

There is this marked distinction between the Zulu and Kafir belief in spirits, that the Zulus believe that their spirits enter into certain serpents which are therefore held sacred, while the Kafirs

hold the belief that their spirits remain disembodied, and that the animals which exercise supernatural powers are simply influenced by evil disposed persons and not by spirits. The chief agent of these people is the baboon while with the Zulus the wild cat (*Impaka*) and the owl are the agents of sorcerers.

(Sgd.) C. Brownlee

Amadlozi, is the chief word applied to spirits among the Zulus this is the word which escaped my memory in writing the corruption or change of the word among the Kafirs is singular. C. B.

*Amatongo*² is also applied to spirits.

¹ In Zulu the word is *onyangweni* from *u(lu)nyango*, with the meaning given by Brownlee. Kropf defines *inyango* (locative, *enyangweni*) as "a store for corn in

the form of a small hut erected on poles; fig. a place of safety; height, high defence, tower."

² i.e. *amathongo*.

SOME NOTES ON BIRTHS AMONG THE FULANI

M. D. W. JEFFREYS *

The nomad Fulani, a dark Caucasoid people, probably of Hamitic stock, and referred to either as the Bororo or as the Cow-Fulani, to distinguish them from the Gidan or Town Fulani, call themselves, in the Bamenda division of the British Cameroons, Jafen.

An advance guard of a few families and their herds entered the rich clover-hay grazing lands of this division in 1917. When I took charge of the division in June 1936 there was an estimated total of less than four thousand of these nomads among a Negro agricultural total of over three hundred thousand.

At odd moments I made contacts with these nomads and the following notes were jotted down. I collected data on birth statistics from 128 of these women and found that they had borne 562 children, giving a ratio of nearly 4·3 children per mother, and many of these women were still in the child bearing age.

Of the 562 children born, 308 were boys and 254 girls, giving a birth sex ratio of 1212 boys to a 1000 girls. In my opinion this ratio is too high for the following reason : These people are patriarchal and patrilineal, and the data was compiled from genealogies given to me. The names of males are less likely to be forgotten than those of females and I put this unusually high male sex birth-ratio as probably due to the fact that the names of females dying in infancy were not recalled when giving me information.

Among the 562 births were fifteen sets of twins giving a twin birth ration of 1:37·5, which is indeed a very high ratio and is more than twice

that found among Europeans. However the figures are too few to conclude that 1:37·5 is the real twin birth ratio among these nomads. The sex distribution of these twins was : mixed, 4 sets; both boys, 7 sets; both girls, 4 sets. One Fulani woman, Sua Dettu of the De'gel clan, and wife of Mohamadu of the same clan, started her motherhood with four sets of twins in succession, followed by twelve singleton births, or a total of twenty children, nine sons and eleven daughters. She lost only two in infancy. Eighteen grew up into full adulthood. The sex distribution of her twins was : mixed, 1; both boys, 1; both girls, 2.

Palmer's remarks on the former behaviour of the Fulani towards twins are not confirmed by my own investigations. He writes: "The Fulani do not regard twins with disfavour provided they are of opposite sexes. If they are of the same sex it was formerly the custom to make away with one. If this were not done it was thought that the father or mother of them would die before they reached maturity."¹ None of the Jafen ever admitted that it was formerly their custom to destroy one of two twins if of the same sex, and the proof of the pudding is in the eating thereof. Out of the twelve sets of twins recorded nine were of the same sex. Two sets of both boy twins died in infancy, i.e. both twins of each set died, there was no question of one surviving. Seven sets of like twins grew up to maturity. These Jafen remarked that if such a practice ever existed it must have done so among the Hwia'en, i.e. among the Town or Gidan Fulani.

* Dr. M. D. W. Jeffreys, former District officer in the British Colonial Service in West Africa, is Senior Lecturer in Social Anthropology in the University of

the Witwatersrand.

¹ Palmer, H. R., *The Bornu Sahara and Sudan*, Cyprus, 1936, p. 82.

CORRESPONDENCE

Native Law of Property

From Mr. A. J. KERR,
Office of the Native Commissioner,
Keiskamahoe, C.P.

Kindly allow me to reply to some of the points raised in the review of my book on *The Native Common Law of Immovable Property* appearing on p. 47 of *African Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 1, 1954.

1. Your reviewer, Mr. M. M. Tatham, claims that my discussion of "The chief described as trustee" is unnecessary. In this he asks that I ignore the main stream of Native law from 1880 onwards; for from that date trusteeship has been the dominant theory of the chief's right. A discussion of it is therefore obligatory; for an author who omitted to mention the dominant theory on his subject might well be accused of producing unbalanced or incomplete work. Your reviewer also claims that I have confused ownership in public and private law, but he has apparently not appreciated that the meaning of trusteeship in the law of sovereignty takes the chief's right out of private law into public law (see p. 20 of my book). He also appears to have overlooked the second paragraph on p. 13 and the last on p. 14 where the authorities against the chief making use of allotted land are quoted. Neither do I imply a divided sovereignty, for surviving attributes of monarchy, of which "The Queen can do no wrong" is one, are found in English law.

2. I agree that "ownership... may be almost described as the ultimate or best right to possession" (Paton). Paton, as I acknowledge on p. 31, is the author of the statement on ownership which your reviewer attacks, and it would be surprising if the learned author were to be set against himself. On your reviewer's own showing, when one has found the person with the best right to possession one has found the owner: this person in Native (private) law is the individual whose method of enjoyment of the prop-

erty is more extensive than others. One sees therefore that both of Paton's statements are to the same effect. Possession has, as your reviewer states, points of contact with ownership, but possession is not, as he alleges in his second last paragraph, the term used in the statutes—they speak of the owner or occupier.

3. On the question of the statutory right one must remember that the condition that a Native may only alienate his land with the consent of the Crown is the result of the perpetuation by legal draughtsmen of the conditions of the Glen Grey title. When the Glen Grey Act, No. 25 of 1894, was passed, the Natives' Land Act, No. 27 of 1913, was not yet on the statute book, and the condition was inserted to prevent alienation to Europeans and not to diminish a Native's right in his own law. One must also remember that the trend of legislation in modern times, in Roman-Dutch as well as Native law, is towards the imposition of more and more restrictions on ownership especially in regard to land. Most restrictions on ownership in Native law are imposed in the public interest and may be matched in Roman-Dutch law by the multiplicity of statutes allowing the expropriation of European owned land for railways, roads, electrical power lines etc., while the Group Areas Act severely limits the power of alienation of all sections of the community. Apart from statutes, deeds of grant usually contain restrictions such as the reservation of mineral rights. The result is that one cannot now find in any law the unrestricted ownership of land that could be acquired in Roman law (p. 38). Neither has the *possessio* of Roman law escaped modification (e.g. in its remedies which have been replaced by the *mandament van spolie*) so whichever term is used must be understood in its modern meaning. In considering private law "ownership" is the better term to use (p. 37) and as it carries a restricted meaning in modern Roman-Dutch law

there is no reason to object to it in Native law on the grounds that restrictions apply.

4. There is considerable confusion in the second last paragraph of the review on individual title. Your reviewer's suggestion that there are two kinds of ownership in respect of the same land, one in Native law and the other as in Roman-Dutch law, is of course not correct. Only one of the proclamations applies to any one particular area of land i.e. only one form of title is possible over one allotment (p. 43). Title acquired under the proclamations is in each case a modified Native law title found in statutory Native law (pp. 37-38). Government's introduction of the registration of the formerly unregistered title was therefore not the introduction of Roman-Dutch law ownership but the introduction of a formality into Native law, the details of the formality varying in respect of different areas between title deed and certificate of occupation. The lack of interest in registered title shown by Natives in the early days is only satisfactorily explained by the recognition of the individual nature of the tenure in Native Common law. Because they had all the benefits of individual title in their own system and because unsurveyed land was still plentiful and obtainable none desired to go to the expense of survey and registration of title, not to mention costs of transfer. Now, however, shortage of land (not a change in the conditions of title which if anything have become less attractive) has overcome the old lack of interest. Registered title has advantages, principally the definition of boundaries and the provision of a permanent record, but its advantages were not so obvious last century as to make it attractive. The reception of the introduction of registered title therefore supports rather than weakens the proposition that the right in Native law is ownership.

Mr. M. M. TATHAM, Department of Social Anthropology, University of Cape Town, writes in reply:

Far from being terminological my objection is to the author's attempt to transpose the concepts of 'trusteeship', 'sovereignty' and 'ownership'

(in relation to land) from one culture to another and very different one.

The author has by no means justified the applicability of such concepts as 'trusteeship' and 'sovereignty' to the conditions obtaining in the Native society before the advent of the Europeans with their own system of law. Without examining those conditions he has uncritically transferred the meanings given by English experience and conditions to such concepts to another cultural medium. Thus, vested with the rights and powers of a "trustee in the law of sovereignty", the traditional Native chief incongruously appears in the likeness of a constitutional monarch at the head of a late 19th century Western European State. The whole of the author's discussion of the "Legal Position of the Chief in Old Native Law" is vitiated by the assumption that it is valid to describe the position of such a chief in terms of categories of thought so clearly derived from foreign sources.

Mr. Kerr is no more successful in his attempt to fit ownership of immovable property into the traditional structure of the Native society. A general conclusion, such as that 'ownership may almost be described as the ultimate or best right to possession', is doubtless valid only within the bounds of the same fundamental principles of social structure and organization. Thus, in reference to land, such a conclusion would be inapplicable in a society such as the Soviet Union, in which individual land tenure is not recognized. Whether such a general conclusion is applicable in the case of the Native society, and if so whether it is restricted in application to certain types of property, depends both on an examination of the constitution of the society as well as on an analysis of legal rights and duties therein. The author has not undertaken the first task at all and his performance of the second duty is open to the gravest objections. Thus, as against the mass of anthropological and legal evidence over a period of many years specifically and unequivocally asserting that individual tenure of land was unknown before the imposition of European rule on the Natives the author opposes, it seems, two cases only. Moreover, on investiga-

tion it is perfectly apparent that neither case concerned the ownership of immovable property. The one case (*Mcunu v. Mcunu*, 1918 A.D. 323) concerned rights under the Natal Code to certain kraals the legal ownership of which was in dispute. It is unfortunate that the author should have assumed that the reference to "kraal" means or includes immovable property, i.e. as subject to "legal ownership". There is no authority in the definitions or any other part of the Natal Code for that supposition much less in the case quoted, or any other case for that matter. In the second case, which went on appeal as *Ratsialingwa and Another v. Sibasa*, the right in dispute (which is relevant here) concerned 'the Great Place' which, it was held, "must be regarded as (his) dwelling . . ." The property which was held to be Sibasa's was that *dwelling*.

Thus, as is quite clear, neither the term 'kraal' nor the term 'Great Place' means or includes immovable property, and consequently the whole argument on this point is fatally flawed.

It is significant that Mr. Kerr does not adduce a single judgment stating in so many words that individual land tenure was known in Native law and custom. On the contrary, it has repeatedly been held and specifically and unmistakably stated that "the ownership of immovable property

was unknown in Native law and custom". The author notes such statements but rejects them as "erroneous" (p. 31) a judgment which may fairly be applied to his own conclusion. Ownership in movables there certainly was in Native law and custom but, like the concepts of 'trusteeship' and 'sovereignty' the principle of individual ownership in land has also been deliberately grafted on to Native law.

In regard to the 'owner' under "Union Statutory Law" the author argues that "the legislature intended the allottee to acquire the ownership . . . of his land" (p. 37) and for this purpose relies on Section 49 of Act 18 of 1936. But that section makes it plain beyond doubt that the right which is conferred by certificate of allotment or other title is a "right of occupation": that is the nature of the right which is transferred by endorsement in the land register concerned. It is unfortunate that a definition for the purpose of interpreting a particular statute should be construed as constituting a right in law, and one moreover of a different kind from the right specifically mentioned.

"That there are two kinds of ownership in respect of the same land" so far from being the "reviewer's suggestion" was, in the review, a rhetorical question and prompted by difficulties raised by the author's own method and conclusions.

Names of Xhosa Clans

From Dr. M. D. W. JEFFREYS,
Department of Bantu Studies,
University of the Witwatersrand.

Professor Kirby's article in *African Studies*, 13, 1, on "Gquma, Mdepa and the AmaTshomane Clan: A By-way of miscegenation in South Africa", throws light on the origin of some of these Pondo clans and on the derivation of their names. Thus according to Soga's genealogy (p. 17, *op. cit.*) the AbeLungu clan derives from two European male ancestors, Jekwa and Hatu, who appear also under the names of Bâdee and Tomee. It would seem that these latter two names may be corruptions of the names Bertie and Tommy. The Xhosa name for a European

is *UmLungu*, plural *AbeLungu*, and the clan name AbeLungu merely means the descendants of the Europeans.

Kirby writes: "Wrecked with Bess I, was a Lascar maid." This maid was in all likelihood a Mohammedan Hindu and all Mohammedans were at that time called Moors. This name would be used by the Europeans in explaining to the Xhosa the difference in nationality between her and themselves. The *r* sound of English does not occur in Xhosa and in adopting English words containing it, the Xhosa substitute *l*. Hence Moor would become AmaMholo in Xhosa. Consequently it is not surprising to note that the descendants of this Moorish maid carry the clan name of AmaMholo.

BOOK REVIEWS

A Luganda Grammar. E. O. ASHTON, E. M. K. Mulira, E. G. M. NDAWULA and A. N. TUCKER. (Longmans, Green & Co., London; 1954). ix, 516 pp. 25s.

This co-operative work, in which the painstaking labour of Mrs. Ashton is to be especially commended, is one of the most valuable analyses of a Bantu language that has yet appeared. It is a mine of information, teeming with idiomatic examples supplied by the two African collaborators, and all the authors are to be congratulated on this big addition to our knowledge of Bantu. There is so much grammar, detailed grammar and advanced grammar in this book, that one cannot help feeling that its effectiveness would have been greatly enhanced if it had been treated as a systematic grammar, without grading and presenting the material in doses, doses which in many cases may prove too strong for the patients. The graded exercise study could well have been appended to the book, directing the student to various sections of study before each exercise. Much in the book is of a nature that is best treated for reference, not for necessary study before each exercise. This is a criticism of method of presentation, not of the content of the book.

Among outstanding contributions in this book may be mentioned the following:

The valuable tables of forms so frequently met with, as for instance those of sound change under the influence of Bantu *-y-* on pages 153-4, and of *i* and *u* on pages 373-4. In fact the whole of Chapter 30 dealing with deverbative nouns is a masterly treatment. Sound change as a whole is adequately treated in Chapter 9.

Chapter 34 contains one of the best expositions yet written on the significance of the Initial Vowel, the correct terminology being used.

Locative construction is fully treated in great detail, every aspect being carefully examined and illustrated.

Of great interest is the survey of the incidence

of forms of prefix in the *li-* class, with features found sporadically in other Bantu languages.

Interesting too is the treatment of "vowel-verbs" as "Y-system verbs". In Ganda the *y*, apparent in the imperative, goes through a large part of the conjugation, the infinitive, however, being a notable exception to this feature.

The implications of the vowel suffixes in deverbative nouns (pp. 373 et seq.) are well treated. This is indicative of what is a general feature of the book, in which vowel function is highly rated, Mrs. Ashton having applied to Ganda the treatment and terminology she had used in her Swahili Grammar, dealing with "the *-A* of Relationship", "the *NA* of Association" and "the *O* of Reference". These latter are summarised in Chapter 37. The application of this classification, however, is not without its difficulties. To apply it to the *ne* tenses (p. 227) is forcing an idea of association difficult to perceive. It seems inconsistent to apply "the *O* of Reference" to the absolute pronouns of classes other than Bantu 1 and 2 (see p. 44), and not to apply it to those two classes also (see p. 101); it obviously is difficult to apply it to class 1.

This leads to a grammatical treatment which one cannot help but feel is foreign to Bantu, viz. a division between 'personal' and 'non-personal' classes. The MU-BA classes are clearly primarily personal, but cls. 1a and 2a (see p. 217) have quite a number of non-personal nouns included. On the other hand, nouns indicating persons are found in other classes than Bantu 1 and 2. This treatment is reflected more markedly when dealing with the pronominal forms, as on p. 90 where "personal pronominal forms" are listed. The more natural Bantu treatment is to classify together all classes of the third person.

It is a great pity that such a standard work as this has had to be built up on the faulty decisions of the 1947 Conference in regard to word-division. The errors in those decisions cannot be set on their face, but they include the locative prefixes, hu

possessive concord before nouns, etc., copulative formatives, and others. Note the inconsistency of joining *na-*, but not joining *nga-*, on page 75. Such vitally affect classification and terminology, as in the use of the term 'preposition' (p. 414) – the "–A of Relationship" is not a preposition in Bantu. It has left a loophole too for such a questionable classification as "the particles –A, –E, and –O" as one of the main parts of speech. Surely "parts of speech" in the grammatical sense applies to words, not to formative elements.

There are some other aspects of the approach to Grammar in the book which are still open to question. In some cases the 'slant' is from English, as when dealing with the verb 'to have' in Chapter 16. (The orthographic decision to write *li* and *na* together in some cases and apart in others seems wrong; but one cannot decide without hearing the speakers.)

The interrogative *ani*, *baani* is a noun of class 1a, and not pronominal as stated on p. 399.

The 'independent possessive nouns' (p. 76) and the examples given on p. 369 are not nouns at all. Nouns have specific class prefixes with a specific form. These are pronouns formed from possessives. Their equivalents in English are nouns, but that is beside the point.

"Comparison" of adjectives is a non-Bantu subject. What is dealt with on pp. 395 et seq. is how to render English 'degrees of comparison' in Ganda.

Class 1a nouns should not have been included in the study of *lu-* and *n-* nouns (p. 185). Their origin is probably in words of these classes, but their concords are all in class 1.

On p. 21 numerals are treated as "secondary parts of speech", but some of them are nouns; these should have been treated as nouns.

Similarly on pages 384 et seq. 'adjectival concepts' are treated from the European point of view; these should have been treated under their relative Bantu categories. Probably this would have been done, if the graded exercises had been dealt with in a supplement.

One or two other small points: On p. 38 it is stated that "no words are basically adjectives". What of *-to* and *-ngi*, from which nouns have

been formed? The explanation (on p. 4) of *l* and *r* belonging to one phoneme is not clear. On p. 15 *njagala* is surely an example of regressive and progressive assimilation, the nasal being palatal (not true *n*)?

The authors have made a good observation on p. 7 that the vowel preceding a nasal compound is always long. The appendixes of Tonal Notes too, are very good. We should have liked some reference, however, to the tones of Ideophones, where emotion generally plays a big part.

The foregoing criticisms are mainly concerning format, classification and grammatical treatment and terminology; and even then they deal with only a few points in a book of over 500 pages, full of the most valuable data and illustrative material, which we believe cannot be challenged. Our congratulations to the authors and to the publishers who have produced a splendid book on an important Bantu language, which has long needed such full treatment.

C. M. D.

The Racial Affinities of the Baganda and other Bantu Tribes of British East Africa

L. OSCHINSKY, (Cambridge University Press; 1954). x, 188 pp., Illus., tables. 25s.

This book concerns itself with the physical anthropology of the natives of Uganda, Tanganyika, Kenya, Zanzibar and Ruanda-Urundi. Consequently when one wishes to find data on any of these tribes one turns to the index. There is none. It is astonishing that the Cambridge University Press allows a book to be printed without an index.

The author's main concern was to ascertain somatically what relationship, if any, exists between e.g. the Baganda and the neighbouring Nilotic and Hamitic tribes. His investigations consisted of body measurements and these are listed in tables. Out of the 188 pages nearly 130 are devoted to tabulations of these measurements so that there remain some 58 pages of text. Of these, eleven are devoted to the introduction, and fourteen to methods employed in the investigation, including statistical methods. In the introduction (p. 9) it is stated that "the purpose

of this study is to solve as far as possible the problem of Bantu origin and distribution which has three aspects. The first aspect is taxonomic . . . The second aspect is methodological . . . The third aspect involves the question of racial hybridism." Nowhere does he define what is a Bantu. Most anthropologists accept that Bantu is a linguistic and not a somatic distinction. Thus roughly there are Sudanic-speaking Negroes and Bantu-speaking Negroes, but all are Negroes. The author quotes Johnston and Seligman on what the Bantu are, but does not quote Hooton of the U.S.A., or Drennan of Cape Town, both of whom correctly regard the Bantu as a negro who speaks a Bantu language. Various tables of human measurements appear for comparative purposes, thus on page 47 there are Hamitomorphs among whom appear the Tuareg, Fulani and the Galla. Then there are the Nilotomorphs which include the Anuak, Shilluk and

Nuer, but I have seen no reference to work done in 1908 by Myers, where he gives the comparative anthropometry of the most ancient and modern inhabitants of Egypt, see *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. XXXV, p. 80, London, 1905.

The author concludes from his measurements that the speculations of Johnston, Seligman and others that the Baganda are a mixture between a Congomorphic or Nigermorphic racial type and the Bahima and Batutsi Hamitomorphs, can no longer be maintained, and that the East African Hamitomorphs are to be considered as typical Negroes. The author thus confirms the generally accepted opinion which is also held by Hooton and Drennan that the Bantu is a typical Negro.

The tables will be useful for future investigators.
M. D. W. JEFFREYS

OBITUARY

FATHER F. LAYDEVANT, O. M. I

The death of the Rev. Father F. Laydevant, O.M.I., occurred on 24th November 1954, at Roma, Basutoland. Father Laydevant was 76. He was laid to rest at Emmaus, the mission which he founded some thirty years ago.

Throughout his long association with Basutoland Father Laydevant was a keen and reliable student of its history, archaeology and ethnology, and at the time of his death he was Vice-President of the Basutoland Scientific Association. All workers in these fields have been indebted to him for his ever ready assistance and willing help. In addition he made a number of contributions to scientific and historical literature of which the following are the most important:

"La Poésie chez les Basuto", *Africa*, 3, 1930, pp. 523-35.

"Etude sur la famille en Basutoland", *J. Soc. Africanistes*, 1, 1931, pp. 207-57.

"Religious or Sacred Plants of Basutoland", *Bantu Studies*, 6, 1, March 1932, pp. 65-9.

"Praises of the Divining Bones among the Ba-Sotho", *Bantu Studies*, 7, 4, Dec. 1933, pp. 341-74.
Revue d'Histoire des Missions, Les Commencements, 1936.

"Initiation du médecin-sorcier en Basutoland", *Ann. Lateranensi*, 1939.

Life of Father Lebihan, 1834-1916, Mazenod, 1939.

"Centre des Chrétiens d' Afrique", Vol. XVIII, *Au Beau Pays des Basuto*, 1939.

"Moshesh and Early Missionaries", *Moeletsi*, 1943.

Morena Gr'ffiths Leretholi, 1871-1939, Mazenod, 1944.

Histori ea Lesotho, Mazenod, 1950.

"Les rites de l'Initiation au Basutoland", *Anthropos*, Vol. XLVI, 1951, pp. 221-255.

JAMES WALTON